FREEDOM STRUGGLE
IN
KASHMIR

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Mir Abdul Aziz

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Preface

The Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, decided a few years ago to publish a series of books on freedom struggle in various provinces and regions of Pakistan before its creation. Most of the books of this series have been published.

Mir Abdul Aziz, a prominent journalist from Kashmir, who migrated to Pakistan, was requested by us to write a book on the role of Kashmir in the freedom struggle. He immediately accepted the offer and produced a voluminous research work which is now being published. Unfortunately, the author died before the book could come out of the press.

The Director of the Society has the honour to introduce Mir Abdul Aziz briefly to the readers.

Mir Abdul Aziz was born at Rambagh, Srinagar in 1924. He graduated from the ASD College, Srinagar, in 1944 and started a lifelong career of journalism. To begin with, he started two weeklies namely *Millat* and *Jauhar* and edited these until the middle of 1947 when these were closed due to official suppression. While in Kashmir, he wrote half a dozen pamphlets on the freedom movement in Kashmir and on the Pakistan movement. Warrants of arrest were, however, issued against him for his anti-India and pro-freedom activities and writings. Consequently, he managed to migrate from Srinagar to Azad Kashmir incognito in January 1948.

In Pakistan, Mir Abdul Aziz devoted his whole life to the cause of Kashmir. He was elected General Secretary of the Muslim Conference and worked under Col. Sher Ahmad and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. In the meanwhile, he started an Urdu weekly *Awaz-i-Haq* from Muzaffarabad/Rawalpindi and the weekly *Insaf* also from Rawalpindi and Muzaffarabad. He held a key position in Azad Kashmir radio. He was also a member of the Kashmiri Language Committee of the Azad Kashmir Government and was awarded prizes by that government for the services he rendered to the cause of Kashmir.

Mir Sahib also participated in international conferences. He was a delegate to the Kashmir Conference convened by the World Kashmir Freedom Movement in London in 1992, and to another such conference in Bradford, England. He also delivered a speech in Oxford University and addressed a number of civic receptions and seminars. Apart from England, he also visited Denmark, Romania, France, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. He also re-visited the Occupied Kashmir, the land of his birth in 1982, and on his return wrote lengthy series of articles in English and Urdu in newspapers as well as periodicals. His two journals, *Insaf* and *Times of Kashmir*, which started in 1955 and 1992 respectively, are affiliated to the All-Pakistan Newspapers Society. He was also a member of the Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors and had been elected to the executives of these two organisations of the press in Pakistan.

For his meritorious services to the freedom movement in the fields of journalism and politics he was awarded a gold medal and a cash prize by the Azad Kashmir Government. On 14 August 1996, the presidential award "Pride of Performance" was conferred on Mir Abdul Aziz by the Government of Pakistan.

We deeply regret that the book could not be published in his lifetime in spite of our best efforts. However, this remarkable achievement will surely secure a place of unique importance for all time on the subject of freedom struggle in Kashmir.

A. Shakoor Ahsan
Director

CHAPTER I

KASHMIR — THE NOMENCLATURE

The two-syllable word stands actually for the Valley of Kashmir, which is roughly eighty miles long and forty miles wide from inside. But, it also stands for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which in its form existed in 1947, was carved out by the Dogra ruler of Jammu, Gulab Singh, and then by his successors particularly his son Ranbir Singh and his grandson Pratap Singh.

Originally, Gulab Singh was the head of the small fiefdom of Jammu, to which he succeeded as the eldest son of his father, Ranjit Dev in 1822 A.C. As it appears from the names of his ancestors, they did not use the suffix of "Singh", which means lion, with their names. Gulab Singh was simply called Gulaboo but when he took up a job with the Sikh rulers of Lahore, he and then his progeny, adopted the word Singh as part of their names as the Sikh used to do and are doing even now.

After serving Rajah Sultan of Bhimber for some time, Gulab moved to Lahore and sought a job there. His brothers also went to the city of Lahore, amongst them was Heera Singh, a very handsome boy, who caught the attention of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler and with the help of his charm and his own machinations, Gulab succeeded in attaining a very high position in the Sikh regime. After the death of Ranjit Singh, we find Gulab Singh as the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army and also as the Prime Minister of the Sikh regime. Holding this high position in the Sikh heirarchy, Gulab Singh had also secret links with the British East India Company.[1] Even, during the Dogra rule in Kashmir, it was commonly believed that when the battle of Sabhraoon took place between the Sikhs and the British, the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army, Gulab Singh supplied saw-dust, called *lakri ka burada* in Urdu, to his own army instead of gun-powder, with the result that the guns of the Sikhs could not function and the Sikhs were defeated by the Forces of the East India Company? The defeated Sikhs, among other things, had to cede the Kashmir State to the British, according to the Treaty of Lahore dated March 9, 1846. This Treaty took place at Lahore, far away from Kashmir, without the Kashmiris knowing anything. Soon after, the crafty Dogra from Jammu, Gulab Singh, reminded the British of their promise that would make him the ruler of Kashmir. Then, there was signed the famous, and in fact the ignominous, Treaty of Amritsar on 16th March 1846 A.C. between the East India Company and Gulab Singh. That made him more or less the independent ruler of Kashmir.[2]

There is no doubt, that Gulab Singh was a warrior and an ambitious one. Not satisfied with his small fiefdom of Jammu, he had invaded Ladakh in 1834 and conquered it. Later on he invaded Baltistan, a Muslim principality and annexed it with his domain and brought this part of the State under his subjugation in 1840. In fact, he also sent Zorawar Singh, the General, with a mission to invade Tibet, and conquer Lhasa, but the Dogra General was overpowered by the locals and killed. His forces had to take to their heels. Some of them reached Jammu in bad shape and others fled towards Nepal and got perished.

Thus we have seen that at the time of literally purchasing the Vale of Kashmir and its adjoining territory, Gulab Singh was already the ruler of Poonch, Laddakh and Baltistan. The part of the State that was sold according to the Treaty of Amritsar, which was in fact a Sale Deed (Even M.K. Gandhi, the Hindu leader whom Hindus called the Mahatma (the great soul) had called the Treaty of Amritsar a *bikri patr*, i.e., a sale deed) when he was on his way to Kashmir in 1947, to strike a bargain with Maharaja Hari Singh, the great grandson of Gulab Singh, one of two authors of the Treaty of Amritsar, was the Valley of Kashmir and those areas on the State which were on the Eastern side of the river Indus and on the Western side of the River Ravi, including Chamba.

During the rule of Dogras, Laddakh and Baltistan were amalgamated into one known as the Ladakh region or the Ladakh district. It would be interesting to note that in 1947, when British India was freed and carved into two independent dominions of Pakistan and Bharat, the area of Jammu and Kashmir State was 84,471 square miles, out of which fifty six percent was only the Ladakh district, that is to say, that Ladakh was, in area, more than half of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, by six percent. There were six districts, namely Jammu, Udhampur, Kathua, Riasi, Mirpur and Poonch in Jammu province, three districts namely, Anantnag (called Islamabad by the Muslims), Baramulah and Muzaffarabad in the Kashmir province and the other Gilgit. That is to say, ten districts counted above were forty four percent of the total area of the State and Ladakh district alone was fifty six percent of the total. This is something unbelievable but it is so.

The full name of the State thus was Riasat-e Jammu was *Kashmir wa Tibetha*. The last word, which is plural, and means the two Tibets, stood for Ladakh and Baltistan. In fact, the people of Ladakh and Baltistan, ethnically and linguistically, are of the same stock as the people of Tibet. We have seen that Zorawar was sent on an expedition to conquer main Tibet, in which he did not succeed. Had he done so, more parts of Tibet, which is now part of China, would have been in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The beautiful Valley of Kashmir, which is known as the Paradise on the Earth, is just[3] 6131 square miles out of the 84,481 square miles territory. The full title of the Maharajah of Kashmir, was Maharaj Adhiraj Sir Hari Singh Bhadur, Sipare Sultante Englishia (Shield of the British Empire) and Ruler of the territories of Jammu, Kashmir and two Tibets. But generally the word Kashmir denotes the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Kashmir, by which is sometimes meant only the Valley of Kashmir, has a very long history. It is an established fact that the Valley, nearly five thousand years ago, was a big lake. The Valley is surrounded on all fours by lofty mountains. The river of Kashmir, called Veth by the locals, and Vitasta in Sanskrit books, leaves the Valley through the gorgeous mountains of Muzaffarabad district, flowing northwards, and then it flows towards Mirpur, and then enters the Punjab. In Punjab and outside Kashmir, it is known as River Jhelum, which itself is said to be a compound word meaning cold water. Jal is water and "hum" or "haam" means very cold. But local people call it Veth, which means that which flows. The word "*bahna*" of Urdu/Hindi, in Kashmiri means that "which flows" and Veth is derived from that.

History tells us that the path of this river was blocked by heavy rocks in the pre-historic age with the result that the water could not come out of the Valley from any side. The only outlet from Baramula to Muzaffarabad was blocked by big rocks and slides. This turned the entire Valley into a big lake which was called Sati Sar, which means the lake of Sati, the goddes.

Even, if today the flow of water in the river Veth is blocked somewhere near Baramula, that can again turn the entire Valley into a big lake. Rajatarangni, the first available book on the political history of Jammu and Kashmir. [4]Raja means a King in Kashmiri and Sanskrit, and Tarangni means a river. Rajatarangi, therefore, means the River of Kings of Kashmir. That, Kashmir Valley was a big lake is not just a myth or a fable. Even, if now the flow of water from Kashmir is stopped anywhere downwards from Baramula, the Valley can again become a lake. At the time of flood in the Valley, even now the entire Valley, from Khanabal in the south to Khadanyar in north-west, the Valley looks like a big lake.

Rajatarangni, the first available history of Kashmir, by Kashmiri Pandit poet and historian, Kalhana, which he wrote in 1148, relates that being a big lake, it were only boats that were floating and sailing to and fro over the surface of the lake. There are places over the mountains surrounding the Valley of Kashmir, which are even now called "nau-bandhan" the place where a boat is tied at the coast of the lake. Though, there can be no possibility of a boat being tied at these places now because there is no water, stream or river at such heights now.

It was at the suggestion of his son that Kashyap, a holy-man, called 'rishi' in Kashmiri and in Sanskrit, decided that the lake that was Kashmir, be emptied of the water. This episode of the history of Kashmir is replete with mythological stories, like that Kashyap invoked the names of the gods of rain and thunder and requested them to remove the hurdles in the path of free flow of water at Baramullah, and when the hurdles, or the slides that had blocked the way, were removed from the course of the river, water started gushing forth from the great lake that Kashmir was. It must have taken months together for the water to come out from the Vale. When most of the water came out, the people who must have been inhabiting the mountainous area round the Valley, came down to the plain Valley, to get settled. Some came from Dardistan, the North and set up villages and hamlets, some of which are even now called Dardpura (the village of the Dard race). Others came from the South, from the areas which are called

Dodah district now. The language of Dards was Dardi, and that of the people of what is now called Dodah, including Kishtwar, Badrwah, Ramban and Banihal, was Kashmiri. Poonch was called Loharkot till very recently and there are parts of this district which even now speak the Kashmiri language.

THE PRE-ARYAN NAGAS

It is believed that the early settlers of the Valley which came into existence as fertile land, were of the Naga race. The present Kashmiri language was the language of these people. Hindu writers and historians of the present age have tried to make the point that the Kashmiri language is born from Sanskrit. But orientalists like Sir George Grierson, have rejected this theory. Grierson have written that Kashmiri is an offshoot of the Dardic language. There is no doubt that there is great influence of the Sanskrit language on Kashmiri, but that is there very much on all languages of the sub-continent. When Islam and Muslims came to Kashmir, the impact of the Arabic and Persian languages on Kashmiri was immense, so much so that according to the author of "Valley of Kashmir" Sir Walter Lawrence, forty percent of the Kashmiri language spoken a hundred years ago, when Lawrence wrote his book, were derived from the Persian language.

This was the estimate of the British author, who wrote the most informative book named *The Valley of Kashmir*, about a century ago. Since then, many words of the English language and other languages have crept into Kashmiri. Since Sanskrit was the court language of Kashmir during the pre-Muslims period for most of the time, the influence of Sanskrit on the Kashmiri language cannot be ruled out. But Kashmiri cannot be called the present form of the Sanskrit language. Kashmiri language has its own special features which show and establish its separate entity.

Kashmiri is the language of the Valley of Kashmir, the areas of Jammu province like Dodah, and parts of Poonch district close to the Valley, and of some towns in other parts of the State. More than fifty per cent of the people of the State speak the Kashmiri language. Other languages of the State are Pahari, Sheena, Balti, Ladakhi, Dogri, Punjabi and some other dialects. More of it later.

Urdu is the official language in Occupied Kashmir as well as in the Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan. Most of the newspapers and periodicals in all the parts of the State are published in Urdu. Some periodicals are also published in local languages, but their circulation is limited as people only who have special interest in the local languages or dialects, read such writings.

It is also to be noted that specifically it is only those inhabitants of the Jammu Kashmir State who speak the Kashmiri language are called Kashmiris. But people outside the State call every body who lives in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, is also called a Kashmiri, while this is not the accurate position. But since, in short form, the whole state is called Kashmir, politically, everybody from any part of the State is called a Kashmiri. There are lakhs of people in Pakistan, whose ancestors migrated from Kashmir to the plains for one reason or the other in the distant past. They are also called Kashmiris. In this category of Kashmiris, are included Allama Iqbal, the poet of the East, Kh. Nazimuddin, Gama Pahalwan the *Rustam-e-Zamaan*, famous wrestler and even the Nehrus and Saprus of India.

KASHMIR'S PROBLEM IS INDIA'S CREATION

Had, the principle which divided British India into Pakistan and Bharat, also been applied to Kashmir and Jammu State, there would have been no Kashmir problem, no tension between Pakistan and India and no three wars between the two neighbours. But, since the Hindu Congress had accepted the division of India with mental reservations, they tried their level best to weaken Pakistan from the very beginning and the attack of Indian forces on Kashmir and its manipulated and forcible annexation to India was the result of that inborn malice of the Hindu leadership against Pakistan. By grabbing the Muslim majority State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indians wanted to weaken Pakistan so that it becomes unviable and is encircled politically and militarily by India. They had their eyes even on the NWFP, where they demanded a referendum on the issue of accession of that frontier province to Pakistan or India. The crushing defeat which they got in the referendum did not deter them from their machinations in Jammu and Kashmir. The poor people of Kashmir are suffering and facing the ordeal since 1947. This is the result of the imperialistic policies of India. It is sad that Indian leaders are still crying hoarse that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an unbreakable part of India that is Bharat. This is a travesty of history, plain and simple, and a white lie which has no legs to stand upon.

As regards the name of Kashmir, so called by outsiders, that is, the people of those of parts of the State itself and also by the outside world, the local people call it just "Kasheer" and not Kashmir. But that is only the commoner's style of saying things. You might call it slang. Allama Iqbal, knowing that Kasheer is the local name of Kashmir, coinword "Kasheeri" as we say Punjabi or Sindhi. But, since the great poet did not know the Kashmiri language, he did not know that though every Kashmiri speaking Kashmiri calls Kashmir as "Kasheer", without the Arabic letter "Meem" or the English letter "m" in between, to coin the word Kasheeri on the pattern of Punjabi and Sindhi or for that matter. Pakistani or Hindustani, is not correct in the Kashmiri language. The word for Kashmiri in Kashmiri language is "*Kaeshur*" .. and for Punjabi it is "*Punjaib*" and not "Punjabi".

Iqbal has coined the word "Kasheeri" from "Kasheer" in his famous poem on the religious, political and social condition of his fellow Kashmiris. The verse exactly is:

Kasheeri ki ba bandagee khu garifta[5]
Butay may tarshad zi sangey mazaray

(This means that the Kashmiri who is used to slavery, he has thrashed out an idol out of the stone from a grave. This refers to the unislamic practice of "worshipping" the graves).

KASHMIRI AND KASHEERI

In the same poem in the *Javed namah* Iqbal has again used the word "Kasheeri" in another verse, which is as follows:

Azaan mai fashaan qatrayay bar Kasheeri
Ki khakistarash aafreenad shararay

This means "Sprinkle a drop from that wine on the Kashmiri, so that his ashes create a spark."

But more of Iqbal on Kashmir at its proper time. We are discussing the name of Kashmir at present.

In books in Sanskrit, and also Persian, written in Kashmir during the past thousand years and even earlier, the word for Kashmir is Kashmir, or in some cases, Kaashmir, with 'alif' after' 'kaaf', or double 'aa' after 'kaaf' Rajatarangni, the first history of Kashmir in Sanskrit, written by the Kashmiri Kalhana Pandit, in the middle of the twelfth century of the Christian Era, also uses the word as Kashmir, that is, with 'alif' after 'kaaf'.

KASHMIR: THE LAND OF KASHYAP RISHI

The word Kaashmir or Kashmir means the land of Kashyap, the holy man who by some engineering feat, or some miracle broke the impediment in the smooth flow of water from the Valley, and converted it from a large lake into a fertile land, which has been called the

Paradise on Earth. Thus "Kash" stands for the holy man, the ancestor of Kashmiris, and "mir" means a place, an abode. "Mir" or "mirah" stands for a place in other areas also. You have the place "Merah Matore" in Kahuta district of Punjab. In Azad Kashmir, Bagh district, you have the village, or a cluster of villages known as "Hurna Merah". "Kashyap Mer" during the course of time, became Kashmir, and the locals, shortened it further, calling in Kasheer. That is the name of the Valley which is surrounded by on all fours by high mountains. These mountains have, in the past, saved it from invasions and raids. It is the Valley of Kashmir which gives the name to the rest of the State. All other areas have, in the past, been with the domain of Kashmir or have not been so. The political map and shape of the State has been changing from time to time.

A WORLD-RENOWNED LAND

Kashmir is known all the world over as a beautiful land. The following verse has been attributed to Emperor Jehangir, the Mughal, as it appears in his *Tuzk*:-

Agar Firdaus bar rooyay zameen ust
Hameen ust o hameen ust o hameen ust

(If there is a paradise on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this).

There is another verse whose poet is not known but is attributed to Jehangir

Kashmir may sitanam amma bajayay Jannat
Jannat na may sitanum amma bajayay Kashmir

(I would accept Kashmir in place of the paradise. But I would not be prepared to accept Paradise in exchange to Kashmir).

Iqbal has written a number of verses in Persian and Urdu on Kashmir, one would suffice and that is what he wrote in a poem on the Nishat Garden of Srinagar, while he was in the Garden himself in the Valley: Said he:

Koh o darya o gauroobey aftaab[9]
Mun Khuda ra deedam injaa bay hijab

(While preceiving the mountains, the river (the Dal lake) and the scene of the setting sun, I saw God without a veil at this place).

Thus he likened the mountains of Srinagar to the Mount Toor of Senai, becasue Prophet Moses is believed to have seen the Light of Allah Almighty at that mountain. Urfi Shirazi Says:

Har Sookhta janay ki ba Kasmir dar aayad
Gar murghi kabab ust ki ba baal-o-par aayad

(There may be a person with a burnt soul (and body). Well, even if he is roasted bird, in Kashmir, feathers and wings will grow on its burnt body).

Hafeez Jullendhari, in his long poem, Tasweer-e-Kashmir (The picture of Kashmir) went too far. He said:

Kia hai Jannat chand hoorein ek chaman do naddiyan
Haan magar waiz ki nisbet say yeh kahta hoon ki haan
Ek uks hai aasman par woh isee tasweer ka
Ek pehloo yeh bhe hai Kashmir ki tasweer ka

This means: What after all is the paradise, it consists of some houris, one garden and two streams. Anyhow, for the sake of the waiz (the sermoniser) I admit that jannat (paradise) is just a reflection of Kashmir on the heaven.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, while addressing the annual session of the Jammu Kashmir Muslim Students Union, in the Park close to the Jamia Masjid, Srinagar, said: "Your country is an emerald studded in gold"

Sir Francis Younghusband, in his book on Kashmir, wrote:[6] "It has a fascination of its own. If one could imgine the Thames Valley with a girdle of snowy mountains, he would have the nearest approach to a true idea of Kashmir it is possible to give. He would not expect the stern ruggedness and almost overwhelming majesty of the mighty mountains beyond Kashmir. But he could have the tranquil beauty and the genial loveliness, which to some are even preferable."

Another Britisher, who served the people of Kashmir as Settlement Commissioner of land in the last century and wrote the most marvellous and comprehensive book on Kashmir unmatched till the present day, said in 1895, that is 102 years ago, in the *Valley of Kashmir*. "The Valley contains everything which should make life enjoyable. There is sport, varied and excellent, there is scenery for the artist and the layman, mountains for the mountaineer, flowers for the botanist, a vast field for the geologist and magnificient ruins for the archaeologist. The epicure will find dainty fruits and vegetables cheaper here than in any other part of the world, while the lounger can past delightful days of *doice fay niente* in the neat houseboats moored under the shady Chinar."[7]

Incidentally, it may be noted that the local name of the Chinar tree is "booin". Chinar is a compound Persian word consisting of two parts *chih* (how, what sort of) and "*naar*" which means fire in Arabic but is used in the same sense in Persian., Urdu and Kashmiri. A Kashmiri writer in a recent issue of the *Kashmir Times* of Jammu wrote that there is an evidence of the "Chinar" having been is existence in Kashmir two thousand years ago and he has contradicted the theory that Chinar came to Kashmir with Muslim preachers and others. It is just possible that some variety of the Chinar may have come to Kashmir, but there being a typical word "booin" in Kashmiri for Chinar, it means that this tree has existed in Kashmir before the advent of Islam in the Valley.

One writer, Mr. M.B. Pithawala, has said that the word really is Kas (channel) and Mir (mountain), that is.

Kashmir means a mountain trough. Another writer, basing his guess on the far-fetched theory that Kashmir is like Palestine and Middle East, says that "Ka" means "like" and "Sheer" means Syria. Thus it has been said that Kasheer, which is the name used by the locals for the Valley means "a country like Syria". But these are strange and far-fetched ideas. The correct appraisal is that the land founded by Kashyap, the rishi or the holy man.[8]

There is no end to describe the beauty of the land of Kashmir. Poets, conqurers and holy men, rishis and saints of many religious beliefs have thronged into the valley of Kashmir in the past. Thus, it is Shri Amar Nath's cave, in the South Eastern part of the valley, to which people from all areas throng in the month of August. The presence of the holy hair of the Prophet of Islam in the valley at Hazratbal Shrine has given a new sanctity to the Valley of Kashmir, as Muslims started calling Kashmir the second Madina, the city of the Holy Prophet of Islam in Arabia, after the holy relic was taken to Kashmir during the rule of Aurangzeb.[9]

It is the belief of Muslims of all the sects in Kashmir that the Holy Prophet of Islam, Muhammad, (May peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) directed one of his descendents, Sayyed Ali of Hamadan, Iran, in a dream beside his (Prophet's) grave in Madina, to proceed to the land of Kashmir so that the people of that land are converted to the Islamic faith.

GEOLOGICAL EPOCHS AND KASHMIR

M. B. Pithawala, in his wonderful book on Kashmir[10] says:

"About 100 milion years can be reckoned as the probable age of Kashmir. quite small compared to the hoary antiquity of the earth itself, which may be of over 1000 million years from the evolution of its brith from the parent nebula. For some 900 million years, Kashmir struggled under the Tethya sea. Where there are such stupendous mountains today, there rolled the sea. There are many evidences of this long burial among these rocks, in the layers of the sediments, muds and shells that have been hardened into stones and solid rocks, folded, contorted and faulted in many places, with remains and plants of animals life that lived them in different geological epochs, but now enshrined, so to say, in the fossils formed therefrom. Then there was the isostatic equilibrium of the earth's crust disturbed and it had to suffer from both tangential and lateral prussure, with the result that the land rose gradually and imperceptibly between the two stable blocks of the earth's crust viz. Siberia and the Indian Massif: It rose and fell and rose again, subsiding and emerging and submerging again with the result that we have such a stupendous mountain system as the Himalayas, the hidden force on the crust developing anticlines and sinlines, unconformities and escarpments, peaks and glens and other physical features for which this region is well known".

This lengthy quotation from the book of the eminent Pakistani geologist has been given to show that while the land known as Kashmir has witnessed many ups and downs in its geological history, the social and political history of Kashmir has undergone an evolution throughout the ages. The conversion of the lake that Kashmir was, into a fertile land, which is said to have happened about five thousand years ago, is that way a recent development. The Valley must not have always been submerged under water always before Kashyap Rishi cleared it of the water. It is likely that the deluge may have overtaken the Valley due to some stumbling blocks in the path of the river Jhelum near Baramula. Just two decades ago, there was a great landslide at a place some miles to the south of Muzaffarabad town near a place called Subri and a lot of water accumulated when the mud and stones brought by the slide into the bed of the river formed a sort of a dam on the river. Such a landslide of extraodinary type may have blocked the flow of River Jhelum, say, 10, or more thousands of years ago and converted the Valley into a lake, which was called *Sat i Sar* or the lake of goddes 'sati'. When Kashyap Rishi got removed the blockade, the fertile and beautiful Valley again came to it own.[11]

When, there is a great flood in Kashmir Valley, even now the whole Valley, from Khana Bal to Khadanyar, is converted into a lake. In the pre-Muslim period there used to be great damage in Kashmir due to floods. One of the great sons of Kashmir, who belonged to Sopore, who proved to be a very expert and wise engineer, managed to dig the bed of the river at one or two places with the result that water began to flow easily and the fear of inundation of major parts of the Valley was considerably reduced. The name of this engineer, an orphan belonging to a very poor family, was Soya and this name had been given to him by his mother who was also known as Soya. When he was exalted in the government because of his capability as an engineer, a new town was founded in his name as "Soyapur"[12] which is now known as "Sopore" and is one of the famous towns of Northern Kashmir Valley. The people there are so active politically that some years go it started to be known as "Little Pakistan".

The purpose is to point out that like political changes, geographical changes have also been taking place in Kashmir, like rest of the world.

THE PRE-MUSLIM PERIOD OF KASHMIR

Not much is known about the religious beliefs of the early settlers of the Kashmir Valley who started living in it when they came down from the mountainous and hilly areas to settle in the newly emerging Valley. Some have imagined them to be worshippers of snakes, or serpents, and for this they were called Nagas. Nag is no doubt the word for a serpent in many Indian languages but in the Kashmiri language, it basically means a spring of water. You have thousands of springs in Kashmir and every spring has its own name or the village and the area is known by the name of the spring. Thus you have Verinag in the South, which is one of the sources of the River Jhelum, the Kasuar Nag wherefrom emanates the Vishu nullah, one of the tributaries of the River Jhelum. These "nags" have nothing to do with serpents or worship of the reptiles. There is no doubt that some, if not all, the old settlers of Kashmir Valley, belonged to the Naga race, who were also spread over India and many other places in the East. Nagpur and Chhota Nagpur have been founded or been associated with the Nagas. To be sure, the Nagas have also been living outside the sub-continent of the South Asia. There is a story in Kashmiri literature, like the love stories of Heer-Ranjha and Sassi-Pannu of the Punjabi literature, which is known as "Heemal and Nagi Rai". Heemal is the girl and a Brahman, while Nagi Rai is a Nag. They fall into love with each other and then marry. But the friends of Heemal, who were jealous of her, kept on telling her that her husband lover was Nag and a non-Brahman, and therefore a non-Aryan. As it is well-known, that the Aryans looked down upon other races and castes and thus Heemal was pressed by her friends to ask her lover what was his race and caste. He was aware of the hatred which Brahmans had against the non-Aryans and therefore, he avoided to give the answer. When his wife pressurised him more and more, he left Kashmir for 'Tal Pataal', or the other side of the earth, which in English is called the Antipodes, never to return and his beloved had to mourn her own attiude for the rest of the life. This means he migrated from Kashmir for good.

The point here is that during the pre-Muslim period of Kashmir, the society was caste-ridden. There were those four well known castes, the Brahman, the

Khshtaris, the Waish and the Shudars, the last being the hated—untouchables.

Kashmir was known as the land of temples and images. Hinduism and image-worship go hand in hand. In temples of the olden days, you can find images of various shapes and forms, as they have in Bharat. Some of them are now seen only in Srinagar Museum, others in temples where pandits go and worship them.

Kashmir must have come under the spell of the Aryans when the South Asia sub-continent was overrun by the Aryans from Central Asia and they brought with them the Sanskrit language. Budhism also thrived in Kashmir for a time and had deep influence on the lives of the people of the Valley. It was during the period of the Kushans. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz says:

"The Kushans came to power in India in the beginning of the Christian Era. Having conquered the whole of Nothern India, inluding Gandhara, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khutan, they brought Kashmir too under their sway. Kanishka (78-123 A.C.) was the most powerful of the Kushans who embraced Budhism. He was enamoured of Kashmir and not infrequently held his court in the Valley. The Chief event of her reign recorded in Budhist Chronicles is a general assembly of the Sangha convened by him under the presidentship of Naga-arjuna to settle the strife between the contending Budhist sects. The meeting place was Kandalwan, a monastry near Shalima. It was attended by 500 monks and *arhats* who came from all parts of India and made an exhaustive examination of all authoritative Budhist literauture."

The writer further says that the principles and beliefs were combined and then inscribed on copper plates for record and for the information of the people. Budhism and the Vedic religion existed side by side in the Valley. Kalhana says that politics was dominated by the ruling religion, that is Budhism.

When the rule of the Kushans ended in Kashmir, Budhism received a set back. The Kushans were followed by the Gonanda dynasty of the Hindus, who were intolerant of the Budhsits. Thus Brahmanism, which is the essence of Hinduism, came again to the surface and infulenced the policies of the rulers. Budhism was the religion, the way of life, of the commoners and the caste-ridden Brahmans wanted to suppress it through state power.

During the pre-Muslim period, Lalita Ditya was a great conquerer from Kashmir. It appears that he was related to non-Muslim Turks and Central Asians. He was a Saivite Hindu but had also regard for Budhism.

Mention must also be made of Harsha, the Kashmiri king who ruled the Valley from 1089 to 1110. Kalhana related the incidents of the life and reign of Harsha in broader details, because Kalhana's father was one of the ministers of the cabinet of the Kashmiri king. The most notable event of the rule of Harsha is his action of a sort of crusade against idolatory. Kalhana attributes it to the greed of Harsha who wanted to confiscate the gold for his treasury from the temples and the idols which were placed therein for ages. Kalhana reports with anguish that most of the idols in the temples in the Valley, except one were dragged out of the temples into the streets of the city and then disgraced. They were broken, trampled under feet and filth was thrown on them. It was openly said that they were of no use to men who worshipped them. The non-Muslims, as always, had been decorating the idols with gold and silver and King ordained that they be deprived of the ornaments of gold and silver. This was done. Kalhana speakes of the King in contemptuous terms and relates that he had to meet an ignominous death. By implication, Kalhana says that this sort of ordeal befell the King because he had disgraced the 'gods' i.e., the idols.

It is evident that the people of Kashmir had developed great hatred against the exploiting religion of the Brahmans and they wanted to get rid of the unjust social, political and religious order which was used by the ruling class against the underdog, with the help of pseudo-religious leaders and priests to maintain the *status quo*. Were Kalhana's perception true, the people would have resented the action of the King against the temples and idols then and there and revolted against him. That was not done. The fact that many people must have welcomed the action against the so called "gods".

Harsha died in disgrace and there is lot of evidence for that. But that had nothing to do with his action against the idols.

Kalhana wrote his history of Kashmir in the middle of the 12th century of the Christian Era. In the post Harsha period, rivalries and conspiracies between the different princes of Kashmir continued, for the fiefdom of Kashmir. The common people continued to suffer under an unjust system of life.

It was during the years that followed Harsha, that Islam started making inroads in Kashmir. We find in Harsha's chronicle that the King had employed "Turks" as generals in his army and the Chronicler considers it as a disqualification of the King from the Hindu point of view. By Turks are obviously meant the Muslims of Central Asia. Though, majority of the people of Kashmir accepted Islam in the middle of the fourteenth century of the Christian Era, it is simply unbelievable that some of the Kashmiris at least, should have remained uninfluenced by the faith which had swept Northern India.

It is recorded in Kashmir history that Mahmud of Ghazni, who invaded India seventeen times, also invaded Kashmir from the South and wanted to capture the beautiful Valley. But local forces resisted him and stopped his troops at Lohara near Rajouri.

A Kashmiri poet from Sialkot, Punjab, who was also a historian and journalist, Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq, writers about this incident:[13]

Naqabili afwaaj hain us qaum kay farzand?
Jis qaum say Mahmud ka bhaga tha risala.

(The poet asks: Are the sons of that nation unfit for the army, whose ancestors had forced the cavalry of Mahmud of Ghazni to retreat?).

It was during the Dogra rule that the Hindu rulers had made false propaganda against the Kashmiris that they were non-martial and unfit for the Army. It is said that when a British Resident in Kashmir asked the Maharaja why he was not employing the Kashmir Valley Muslims in the army. That Maharaja related a joke to the Resident, which must have been concocted by the crafty Hindus themselves. He said that once some Kashmiris were recruited in the Dogra army and they were required to go to Gilgit. When they were asked to undertake their expedition, they asked their officer "But what about our defence and security?" Another joke was that when Kashmiris were asked to fire a shot from a rifle. They said that it was better that the rifle be placed in the sunshine and when it would warm up and become hot, it would fire automatically. This propaganda has been contradicted by no less a person than Allama Iqbal, in the *Javed Namah* and other writings. What is more, the last eight years actions by the Kashmiri mujahideen on the battle-front in the Valley have proved to the hilt that Kashmiris were no and are no cowards. Nor are they "non-martial". Every community has its ups and downs in history and Kashmiris are no exception to that.

After the unsuccessful attempt of Mahmud of Ghazni to conquer Kashmir, another adventurer, Zulqadar Khan, Alias Zulchu, a Tartar, invaded Kashmir. This was the beginning of the fourteenth century A.C. A Hindu prince, Sahadeve ascended the throne in Kashmir. At this time, Kashmir, reports Bazaz, "was ruled by drunkards, gamblers and profligate women". It was clear that rulers with such credentials could not resist an attack by a foreigner. Zulchu had no religious aim nor did he want to annex Kashmir to his domain. His only aim was plunder and that he did. The King of Kashmir had no courage to combat the adventurer and he fled to South of Kashmir, Kishtwar, leaving his unfortunate subjects to the tender mercies of Zulchu and his forces. When Zulchu left the Valley along with his booty and forces, a snow storm overtook him in the way and they all perished.

ADVENT OF ISLAM IN KASHMIR

When we take up the subject of contribution of Kashmiris to the Pakistan Movement, the most important background that is to be kept in view is the conversion of Jammu and Kashmir to Islam. Islam, the Allah-ordained way of life, is the *raison de'etre* of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the fundamental reason for which the people of Kashmir, being Muslims, want to accede to this country is the two nation theory, which is another name of Islam.

Had not Kashmir been a Muslim majority state, the case of Kashmirs accession to this country could not have been made out only for cultural and geographical reason. No doubt, Kashmir is geographically a part of the Indus Basin and all the rivers of Pakistan, Indus and the tributaries of this lengthy and great river, come from Kashmir, but the main reason why Kashmiris are all out for Pakistan is that it is an Islamic country, based on the tenets of Islam. Allama Iqbal, as the President of the All India Kashmir Committee, in 1934, appealed to the Muslims of the sub-continent to observe 14th August as Kashmir Day, saying that without the freedom of the Islamic State of Kashmir, the freedom of Muslim-India would be incomplete. By Muslim-India was meant the great country which was yet to be brought into existence and whose name had not been finalised till 1934 and most of the Muslim leaders of the sub-continent used the word "Muslim-India" for it, differentiating it from Hindu-India, from which Muslims wanted to separate themselves as they wanted to rule their homeland according to the Islamic principles.

Kashmir is the best example of the fact that Islam was spread in the world not by sword but by persuation and word of mouth, by peaceful means and not by force.

The people of Kashmir wanted to get rid of the unnatural and superstitious beliefs and practices of the rulers and the Hindu priesthood in Kashmir. The system that was prevalent in Kashmir offered no solution to their problems. There was dissatisfaction all around in the State. It was in this situation that the new faith, the religion of peace and equality, came to the rescue of the Kashmiris.

Pandit Bazaz ascribes the sweeping success of Islam in Kashmir to the fact that there were already beliefs of the *Trika* philosophy extant in Kashmir. He says that the *Trika* philosophy was similar to Islam in many respects. This philosophy and Islam, says Bazaz, both teach that:[14]

(a) God is self-evident and does not stand in need of any proof.

(b) There is only one God, call Him Allah or Ishwara, as you like there is none equal to Him and no one to assist Him.

(c) A man with no attachment to the world while living in the world is really out of it and even in this body he can see what ordinary man cannot see and perform extraordinary acts which others cannot do.

(d) Everything is God in the sense that it exists in Him. The soul is immortal and immaterial, taking delight in knowledge alone.

(e) There is nothing real but God. He is everywhere and everything. He is the source of all existence.

(f) Four necessities within the natural limit, are not considered worldy. viz. food, garment, house, wife and children.

(g) One must live in society but resist passion.

(h) Appreciation of beauty. If one does not possess the capacity to appreciate the abstract beauty, he should train his mind to appreciate physical beauty.

(i) Both sexes have equal rights to spirituality.

(j) There is no distinction of caste, colour or race among mankind.

After giving these instances of similarity between the teachings of Islam and the *Trika philosophy* of Kashmir, Pandit Bazaz says: "With such similarities in the teachings of the old and the new faith, Hindus of Kashmir, who were devoted followers of Shaivism, did not find Islam obnoxious in any way. Rather, they were happy to find a creed whose basic tenets were almost the same as their own, with the additional merit that the new faith ushered in a strong government, the sore need of the times. Conversions, therefore, took place by thousands and before long the majority of the people became Muslims by faith."

Pandit Bazaz continues his comment like this:

"Had Kashmir not adopted Islam and Muslim rule in the fourteenth century, it is difficult to say what would have happened to it. It might have perished. Surely, the powers that were generated among the people in various branches of creative life, such as learning, art and architecture, would not have come to play. By coming into contact with the new culture and civilisation as a result of Muslim rule, Kashmiris extricated themselves from the morass in which they had fallen and in which they were sinking deeper and deeper. Now they started their life afresh. Thinking was stirred, learning revived and fine arts were cultivated anew; music, painting, dancing got a fresh start; industry was introduced and zest for life strengthened. As, I shall presently show, no sooner was anarchy ended and the Muslim rule well established master minds began to reappear. The contribution of Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, to Persian literature and thought is not negligible. Indeed, it ranks very high in the literatures of the medieval times. It was Islam that revitalised the dead spirit of Kashmir. Without this fresh impetus, even the production of original writings by Hindus authors on philosophy, literature, religion, astronomy and other subjects in Sanskrit, during the five centuries of the Muslim rule would not have been possible. Hindu intellect and mind would have stagnated and perished."[15]

There can be two opinions about the argument of Pandit Bazaz that there is much similarity between the teachings of Shaivism (Kashmiri Hindusim) and Islam. That way, there is much similarity between Islam and some other religions also. Islam, Judaism and Christianity are, for instance, Semitic religions, with the difference that while the Jews do not accept Jesus (Hazrat Isa) and Holy Prophet Muhammad (May peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) as Prophets of God, the Christians accept Christ but do not acknowledge the prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH). Muslims accept all the Prophets of Allah and believe that the religion and the teachings they conveyed to mankind was not Judaism or Christianity, but Islam. Shaivism may have some good points but the fact remains that it attaches utmost importance to institutions and beliefs which Muslims abhore. Anyhow, Mr. Bazaz was not a Muslim but a Kashmiri Pandit and it is very good that he has given a more or less correct appraisal of Islam in Kashmir, and had paid tributes to this God made system of life, which continues to be the faith of the overwhelming majority of the people of Kashmir. Kashmir has now been under worst non-Muslim rule for the last 180 years, starting from the Sikh rule of Ranjit Singh in 1819 A.C., but the teachings of Islamic faith are so deep-rooted in Kashmir that the attempts of the non-Muslims to eradicate Islam from Kashmir have failed miserably.

Islam is a cosmopolitan religion. Allah Almighty says to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in the holy Quran:

> "*Qul ya ayyuhannas, inni rasoolullahi ilakim jamiaa*"

"Say: Oh ye human beings, I am the Prophet of Allah for all of you." This being the position, how could the people of Kashmir remain aloof from the Islamic faith?

Dr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Soofi, author of the voluminous book *Kasheer* also refers to the *Trika* philolophy of the Shaivite religion of Kashmir. What Mr. Bazaz has written, shows that Shaivism is closer to what is called Pantheism, called *Wahdatul wujood* in Muslim terminology, as against *Wahdatush-hood*. In Persian, the first term is called *"Hamah-oost"* (Everything is Him) and the latter is *"Hamah az oost"* (Everything is from Him). Soofi refers also to Iqbal, who gave the idea of *"Khudi"* of self-consciousness to the Muslims and also to Mansoor Hallaj, who said:" *Anal-Haq*" meaning "I am the Truth".

We now come to the gradual spread of Islam in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Giligit, which is now part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, seems to have come under the influence of Muslims when the Arabs won a victory over the Chinese, in 751 of the Christain Era, corresponding to 134 of the Hijri Era.

Lalitya Ditya Muktapeda, a great king and conquerer of Kashmir, who ruled Kashmir from 725 to 753 of the Christian Era, is said to have sought the help of the Chinese against the Arabs, who were advancing in Sind and Southern parts of the Punjab. His sucessor is reported to have sold many men to the Maleechas (This term was coined for the foreigners of outsiders. In Srinagar there is even now a locality called Malechpur, or the mohallah of the foreigners). Then came Harsha, who employed a number of Turk (means here Muslim) generals in his army and disgraced most of the temples and idols of the Hindus.

Chhachh Nama, a history of Sindh written in Arabic and then translated into Persian, mentions that when Raja Daher of Sindh was killed by Muhammad bin Qasim, Daher's son, Jaisiya, went to Kashmir, which was part of the vast kingdom of Sindh in those days. He is said to have been accompanied by his Arab friend, Hamim, the Syrian. When the two met the Rajah of Kashmir, he treated them with consideration and a part of the dependencies of Kashmir, called Shakalha was donated to Daher's son. According to General Cunningham, this place is near the salt Range of Kallar Kahar. Others have hinted that this must have been near Sialkot, because some history books describe the place alloted to Jaisiya as "Shalkot". Many illiterate Kashmiris even now call Sialkot as "Shalkot". Later on, Hamim the Syrian is said to have constructed the frist masjid in this area,

It was in the first quarter of the fourteenth century when Renchana of Ladakh assumed power in the Valley of Kashmir. Like the people of the Valley, he too was not satisfied with the religious beliefs and practices in Kashmir in those days and was in search of real religion, which could bring solace to his heart and provide the people with some definite and realistic way of life. He would hold discussions on the current religions with his courtiers and ultimately, he is said to have decided that, trusting in the Creator, he would adopt the religion of the person whom he would see next morning.

It so happened that the ruler was early in the morning sitting at the window of the palace, when he saw a stranger going to the bank of the river, washing his hands, face and feet and then standing with his face towards the West in the open ground on the turf, and then performing what is known as "salaat" in Arabic and

"Namaaz" in Persian. As the stranger finished his job and was moving out from the ground, the King went to him and asked him who he was and what he had been doing with his face towards the West. The saintly man introduced himself as Abdur-Rahman

Bilawal Shah said that he was a Muslim and also explained the main principles of the faith to the king. He said that he was praying and saying his "salaat" as had been laid down by the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad, whose advent completed the religion of Islam, which was in fact the religion of all the prophets of the world sent by Allah Almighty to every country and nation of the world.

The simple method of ablution, and the simple method of prayer, explained to the king by the Muslim divine, impressed the king so much so that he desired to become a Muslim. The saint administered the *Kalima* to the King and thus admitted him into the great and vast brotherhood of Islam. The Islamic name of Renchana was now Sultan Sadruddin. This happened in 1320 of the Christian Era. The rule of Renchana was brief. He ended up in 1323. During this period, Islam must have been the state religion of Kashmir becuase, says the Arbaic proverb" Annasu ala deeni mulooki him" (People follow the religion which their kings follow).

According to Stein, the author of the English translation of the Rajtarangni of Kalhana, some of the Dard tribes of Dardistan had accepted Islam even before Renchana became Muslim.

Political turmoil overtook Kashmir after the demise of Renchana, but very soon was established the rule of the Shah Mir dynasty in Kashmir. Shah Mir was a *vizir* of Rechana and after great effort he established his rule in Kashmir in 1339 A.C. Shah Mir named himself as Sultan Shamsuddin (The Sun of the Religion) and passed away, after a brief rule of four years in 1342.

The first great Muslim King of Kashmir was

Sultan Shahabuddin, who ascended the throne of his forefathers 1354. A.C. He was a great conquerer and administrator. Iqbal, the poet of the East, speaks of this great Muslim King of Kashmir with great anguish, saying:

Barha gul rakht bar bast-o-kushad
Khaki maa deegar Shahabuddin nazaad

(The flowers many a times packed up their attire and then re-opened it, but our land—Kashmir—did not give birth to any other great emperor like Shahbuddin Ghazi).

Another eminent ruler of this period was Sultan Sikandar. He is known as "But-shikan" or the iconoclast, the breaker of the idols in Kashmir. He razed many a temple, along with their idols to the ground.

Prem Nath Bazaz, to whom we have refered above and we will quote in this write up in the future also, in his book *Inside Kashmir* published from Lahore in 1940, somewhat defended the action of Sultan Sikandar, but in his book *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, he has criticised this action of the King. In the first book, he said that the pandits must have been conspiring in the *mandirs* or temples against the State Government and this must have prompted the King to demolish them, but in the second book which he wrote from New Delhi after India became free, he has denounced the action of Sultan Sikandar as bigotry.

There is no doubt that spread of Islam does not mean the demolition of the places of worship of other religions, but when a particular locality converts itself to antoher religion, the people of the locality also convert their place of worship to the purposes of the new religion. This is what happened in Kashmir. There is no doubt that many Kashmiri pandits migrated to the plains during the rule of Sikandar the iconoclast, but when Sultan Zainul Abideen ascended the throne, and earned the title of Budsha (the Great King) he reversed the policy and in true Islamic fashion assured the pandits that their religion and culture would be safe in the Muslim rule. The result was that the migrants came back to Kashmir and resumed their jobs, in the government, in the bazaars and in the fields. They continued to live not only in peace during the 482 years of Muslim rule, but also acquired top positions in the administration of the State. They learnt the Persian and even Arabic language and became scholars and poets in the latter. Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq, eminent historian and journalist on Kashmir, first wrote *Taareekhi Budshai* about the most prosperous rule of Sultan Zaindul Abideen and then wrote another book on the same subject, known as *Shababe Kashmir* which means the "prime youth" of Kashmir. He rightly recorded that the age of Budsha (which in Kashmiri means "The Great King" was the youth of Kashmir and the golden age of Muslim period of the history of Kashmir.

Islam spread by leaps and bounds in Kashmir during this period. We have already noted the conversion of the Budhist King of Kashmir to Islam at the hand of Abdur Rehman Bilawal Shah (also known in Kashmir as Bulbul Shah). Majority of Kashmiris were converted to Islam due to the efforts of Mir Sayyed Ali Hamadani, a contemporary of Amir Taimur, who considered Hamadani as his political rival, which in fact was not the case. Ali Hamadani's father was of course the Governor of the Hamadan province but Ali Hamadani was more devoted to the spread of Islam than to politics. However, the Saint of Hamadan shifted his headquarters, of course his entire family, to a place Kolab, in the Khatlan province of what is now called Tajikistan. He is said to have visited Kashmir thrice. Before coming to Kashmir, he sent his two close relatives and trusted lieutenants to the Valley for a survey and they reported to him that Kashmir was in great need of reform which could be done only by introducing the

Islamic religion in the State.

It is also recorded in chronicles that Ali Hamadani was a great traveller and globe trotter. He is said to have travelled to most parts of the Globe and met a great number of divines and religious scholars, learning from them and imbibing their ideas. It is said that once, when he was contemplating beside the grave of his ancestor, the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) in Madina Tayyibah, he was directed by the Prophet himself in a dream that he should proceed to Kashmir and preach the Islamic religion there. But his conflict with Amir Taimur was also one of the reasons of his visit to Kashmir. There is well-known Persian verse in Kashmir.

Gar nah Taimur shor-o-shar karday.[16]
Kai Amir een taraf guzar karday?

This means: Had not Taimur given currency to mischief and noise, how would Amir-e-Kabir Mir Sayyed Ali Hamadani have come to this side of the world?). Sometimes good comes out of evil. There is also the well-known Persian saying: *Udoo sharray bar angezad ki khairey maa daa aah bashad*. (Sometimes an enemy nourishes an evil, but therein is good for us). The holy Quran also says that sometimes people dislike something but in that there is good for them and sometimes people love something wherein there is evil for them.

Sayyed Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir during the rule of Sultan Qutubuddin and when he reached Srinagar, the King himself went to receive him. He was offered accomodation in Government guest house but he prefered to stay at a place where the Khanqah of Shah Hamadan now stands and that was near a temple of the Kali Devi (goddes of death in Hindu mythology) and some people warned him that if he stayed there, during the night, he would be disturbed by evil spirits and there was even fear to his life. But the great man of God dismissed all these fears and started his mission of preaching the Word of God and the Islamic religion to the people of Kashmir. There are sects in Islamic society now, although there is no room for sectarianism in the Islam. Some of the biographers of Hazart Shah Hamadan (He is known by this title among the common people of Kashmir) say that he belonged to the Shafaie school of thought, but when he reached Kashmir, he found that the Muslims there were of the Hanafi school of thought. Since, he was interested only in the propagation of orthodox and puritan Islam, he did not touch the sectarian and fiqah aspects, but confined to the spread of the Quranic Islam to the masses.

Ali Hamadani is said to have written about 130 books and pamphlets. Most known of them are his treatise on Islamic administration of a State, whose name is *Zakheeratul Mulook* or the "Store for the rulers"(or kings). The name is Arabic but the book is in Persian. In this book, which was written on the request of one of his disciples, who ws himself the ruler of a State in the present NWFP. Ali Hamadani has written that the best system of government is the one that existed in the period of the four rightly-guided caliphs, called *Khulafai Rashideen*.

The other book is in Arabic and is called *Aurade fathiyah* (the oft-repeated prayers which open the locks). It is most well-known of his writings in Kashmir and is recited after the obligatory prayers by Muslims in Kashmir, Afghanistan and Central Asia, singly or in chorus. Muslim prayers are often recited silently or in low tones, but it is said that in Kashmir, the newly converted Muslims were allowed to recite the *Aurad* loudly and in chorus. The reason was that at that time, there were the temples of the Hindus in which the Hindus used to recite their *bhajans* (verses or paryers) loudly and in chorus. This caused disturbance to the Muslims who were reciting the *Aurad* and thus, Ali Hamadani allowed the Muslims to recite the *Aurad* in chorus in the masjids and at homes. There is hardly any Muslim home in Kashmir where there is not a copy of the *Aurade Fathiyah*, of course in addition to the Holy Quran.

The name has, according to the tradition, been given to this collection of prayers by the Prophet himself. It has been said that when Hamadani compiled the booklet, he went to the grave of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) and started meditation. In his dream, he saw that he was sitting outside the Court of the Prophet, when a young and handsome lad came out and took the manuscript from Hamadani, went inside and after coming out, told Hamadani *"Khuzikl Fathiah"* (Take this book back. It has been named Fathiyah). Some other person told Ali Hamadani that this lad, was yet to be born in the world and that he belonged to Kashmir, where now Ali Hamadani was to go to preach the Islamic religion. Hamadani was also advised to go to Kashmir and advise the parents of this child that they should name him Nooruddin, when he is born, beacuse this child would spread the *Noor* or the Light of the *Deen* (Islamic religion) in Kashmir.

Ali Hamadani and the seven hundred disciples who went with him had to face the difficulty of language. Kashmiri is one of the most difficult languages and for persons from far off Iran it was still more difficult. It was left to Nooruddin, the patron saint of Kashmir, rightly called Alamdaare Kashmir (the Banner-bearer of Kashmir) to translate the ideas and ideals of the Islamic faith into the Kashmiri dialect, which Kashmiris could easily understand and spread the same among the common folk. By his sayings and compositions in Kashmiri, Nooruddin justified his name. His verses and sayings are to this day remembered by Kashmiris. He lies buried at Chrar Sharif, the sacrilege of which Shrine three years ago hit world headlines.

Allama Iqbal has paid great tribute to Ali Hamadani, in his *Javed Namah*, in which he describes his meetings with historical celebreties in his imagination. Iqbal has a lengthy discourse with Shahe

Hamadan discussing the past, the present and future of the Kashmiri nation. The words of praise by Iqbal for Ali Hamadani have become proverbial. Said Iqbal:

Sayyedussadaat Saklarey Ajam
Dastey oo memaarey taqdeerey umam
Aafreed aan mard Iraney Sagheer
Ba hunarhai ghareebo dilpazeer
Khittah raa aan Shahe darya aasteen
Daad ilmo sanato tahzeeb o deen
Yak nigahey oo kushayad sud girah
Khezo teerash ra ba dil rahay badeh[17]

(He was the leader of the leaders, the Commander of non-Arab world. He is the builder of the destiny of nations. That man created the little Iran (Kashmir) along with its wonderful and heart-ravishing arts. That generous Emperor named Ali Hamadani gave knowledge, industry, culture and religion to the Valley of Kashmir. His one glance opens many a knots. Get up and let his arrow pierce your heart).

This praise by Iqbal is not undeserved. To this day, Kashmiris of all sects and schools of thought acknowledge Ali Hamadani as their great benfactor and sing his praises. In songs and poems, the burden at the end is:

Yaani aan baniyay Musalmanee
Mir Sayyed Ali Hamadani

(Oh yes, that harbingar of the Muslim way of life in Kashmir, Mir Sayyed Ali Hamadani).

Ali Hamadani breathed his last at a small town called Nakote[18] in Mansehra district of the present NWFP, in the year 86 A.H. corresponding to 1385 A.C. His bodily remains, according to his will and consensus of his followers, were taken to Kolab, in Khatlan, for burial, where they remain buried to this day, along with his family members and immediate associates. People from different parts of the Muslim world throng to this shrine for pilgrimage. The present writer, being the General

Secretary of the Shah Hamadan International Islamic Association, visited this shrine in 1992 and 1994. In the latter year, the 681st birth anniversary of the great saint was officially and nationally observed by the Tajkistan government for full one year, to be followed by an International Conference, which the present writer also attended as a delagate. Birth and death anniversaries of Ali Hamadani are observed in Kashmir regularly.

. The Khanqahi Mualla of Shah-e Hamadan in Srinagar, which was constructed during the stay of his son, Mir Muhammad Hamadani, is one of the few centres of the Muslims of Kashmir. The first political meeting of the Kashmiris in 1931, which was organised by Kashmiris, was held at this sanctuary. Teachings and ideas of Shah-e Hamadan, which are in fact the teachings of Islam, continue to inspire the Kashmiris. They are a source of strength to the Kashmiris who are challenging one of the greatest armies of present-day imperialsim. One of the mujahid battalions is known as Shah-e Hamadan Battalion in the occupied Valley.

Since 95% of the poeple of the Valley of Kashmir were Muslims, Kashmir became a centre of learning not only of Islamic thought, but also of Muslim civilisation. Art and literature flourished in Kashmir during this period. The Kashmiri arts and crafts, introduced in the land mostly by the incoming Muslims, like carpet-weaving, embroidery, wood carving, tapestry, paper making, paper machine became an attraction for the East and West. The muslin and the shawls manufactured by Kashmiri artisans and men of skill are well-known all over the world. The products of Kashmir in these skills could match with the products of the places in Central Asia wherefrom they had been introduced in Kashmir, originally. During the regime of Budshah, Sultan Zainul Abideen, there was a University in the North of Srinagar, where scholars and men of letters used to come from many countries of the world in search of more knowledge.

Kashmir was an independent State for most of the pre-Muslim period and it continued to be so during the Muslim period. During the rule of Sultan Shahabuddin Ghazi, the realm of Kashmir extended to what is now Pakistan. It included the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir, which now stands divided by the Line of Actual Control, and it also included Afghanistan, which was then known to Kashmiris as Kabul and Kandhar, because the name Afghanistan is a later nomenclature.

Like the rest of the India of that time, which was under the Muslim rulers, the court language of Kashmir, was also Persian and not Kashmiri. This is because except Renchana, who was a Tibetan-speaking Budhist before his conversion, the Shahmiris were themselves Persian speaking, as they or their immediate ancestors had come to this part of the world from Central Asia, where Persian was the *lingua franca*. But the local language was also influenced by the Persian language, prosody and forms of verse. Thus, while we see poets like Nooruddin Wali and Lal Ded writing *ashlokes* (called *shruk* in Kashmiri) during the 14th century, when Islam and Islamic literature was imparting its influence in Kashmir, during the rule of the Chak dynasty, we find the Queen songstress Habba Khatoon, writing *ghazals* (love lyrics) in Persian form, in the Kashmirised Arabic/Persian alphabet. She, of course, was also the inventor of some paterns and *Muqams* of music in Kashmiri, but even her language was much influenced by the Persian and Arabic vocabulary. For an average Kashmiri, it becomes somewhat difficult to understand the poetry of Sheikh Nooruddin Wali because it includes words and phrases which have become obsolete now, but the melodies of Habbah, the songstress queen are not only easily understood but also sung by bards and the commoners of all ages.[19]

Kashmir's independence came to an end when sectarianism cast its shadow on the Valley and one of the sects invited Akbar, the Mughal, to come and invade Kashmir. A delegation of Kashmiri divines went all the way from Srinagar to invite the Mughal King to send his forces to Kashmir. He had earlier tried to conquer the famous and beautiful Valley but had failed. But now, when accredied representatives of the people themselves invited him, it was almost a passover to annex Kashmir.

Mughals, having the same religion as most of the Kashmiris, gave Kashmir a good administration, of which there was dire need. Akbar's son Jehangir was so enamoured of Kashmir that he likened it to paradise itself. There is a Persian verse attributed to him in this context.

Agar Firdaus ber rooyay zaminast
Hameinast o hamein ast o hamein ast

Pandit Bazaz has commended the agreement, which was arrived at between the Mughal ruler and the representatives of Kashmir, as it ensures the interests of the Muslims as well as the non-Muslims of Kashmir and that it ensures betterment and welfare of the masses. He says that since the Kashmiris were oppressed by their own regime, the Mughals entered the Valley as if they were no invaders but as liberators. There is another verse attributed to him:

Kashmir May Sitanam Amma Bajaye Jannat
Jannat Namay Sitanam Amma Bajaye Kashmir[20]

(I would like to get Kashmir instead of the paradise, and sure I would not accept paradise (jannat) instead of Kashmir.)

The Mughals were replaced by the Afghans in Kashmir in 1752, when the State was overrun by Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Afghan rule continued till the Sikhs, under leadership of Ranjeet Singh, annexed Kashmir to the Sikh Durbar of Lahore. The Muslim rule, if we start it from 1323, when Renchan accepted Islam, till 1819 A.C. comes to 486 years, that is to say, five centuries less than 14 years.

The governments in Kashmir, throughout these five hundred years, were Muslim governments, of kings or the agents or governors (called subedars) of outside emperors. The form of government was never democratic. The governments cannot be said to be Islamic governments, strictly speaking, most of the rulers were empire builders and the principle was that of might is right. Some of the rulers were conquerors, others were just and benevolent administrators, then there were others who were given to worldly pleasures and were profligate.

The Mughals, who captured Kashmir on the invitation of influential religious and political leaders of Kashmir themselves, respected the autonomy of Kashmir. In fact, a charter was signed between the Kashmiris and the Mughals that the political and social interests of the local people would be respected by the authority from Delhi.

Islam continued to spread in the Valley and adjoining areas of Kashmir. There was the local rishi movement, initiated in the Valley by Hazrat Sheikh Nooruddin Noorani, Alamdaare Kashmir, also known as, *Sheikhul Alam* (the leader of the world).

STRANGE THEORIES ABOUT ISLAM IN KASHMIR

When India forcibly occupied the State with the help of brute force and promised that a plebiscite would be held under UN auspices to decide the future of the State, she had mental reservations and in fact wanted to gain time, concentrate her position militarily and brainwash the Kashmiris so that they forgot they were part of the Muslim world. Indian propaganda machinery operated through the Education Department, the media, electronic or otherwise, and Indian secularism was projected in full blast in the Valley. The Indian strategists tried to misconstrue and misrepresent the history of Islam in Kashmir. A bogus and unbased theory has been invented by Indian ideologues, with the help of some local political and literary sycophants of Kashmir, to the effect that the Islam of Kashmir was unique, with characteristic of its own and different from Islam of other countries. Even, religious preachers like Hazrat Sheikh Nooruddin were depicted as banner bearers of "religious secularism", which is a contradiction in terms. Strange ideas were attributed to the Muslim saints of Kashmir, that they wanted the unity of religions and that there was no difference between Muslims and non-Muslims. It was said that Islam of Kashmir was the *soofi* type of Islam, which taught its followers toleration of other religious beliefs and justice to the non-Muslim minorities. The main target of the Indian propagandists and their henchmen in Kashmir was the two nation theory, and they wanted to make the people believe that in fact Kashmiris were one nation and therefore part of the Indian nation.

This pernicious theory was resisted by the Muslims of Kashmir and is being resisted by them even now.

The Kashmiri Muslims know that Islam is one and indivisible. The principles of the Islamic origin are embodied in the Holy Quran, which is the same throughout the world and according to this Book of Allah the ideal and example to be followed is that of the Last and the greatest of all the Prophets, Muhammad (May peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). The five principles of Islamic belief are the same for all Muslims and all nations. There is thus no particular type of Islam. There may be differences of language, dress, colour and race between the Muslims but the fact remains that Muslims throughout the world are one Ummah. No line can be drawn between them with respect to their beliefs.

But still, writings of the Muslim saints are torn out of context, or writings of other writers of Kashmir, who were not Muslims, are attributed to the Muslim saints like Nooruddin and his disciples. The actual beliefs of Nooruddin are in his verses. To quote a few:

> *Rindo Hendian Hinzeh kaamih traveito*
> *Traivto pravitao Haqqeh senz wath*
> *Hazrate Muhammad mateh mashravito*
> *Asih nin naarus timan rozi kath*

(Oh ye youths, abandon the ways of Hindus, do adopt the ways of the one True God. Do not forget the ways of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH). Otherwise, if we are taken to Hell for our bad deeds. It would cause worry to the Prophet)

Another *shloke* or: *shrook* from Nooruddin is:

> *Paire paire Muhammad Sahibnis shaanus*
> *Yus ummatus heyith paanus seit*
> *Athe khore tem gend bud shaitanus,*
> *Yemi lai ker Quraanus seit.*[21]

(May I sacrifice myself for the glory of the Prophet Muhammad, who is sure to keep his followers with him. One who is attached to the Holy Quran, verily he ties the hands and feet of the bad Devil).

Two nation theory is one thing, but giving the non-Muslims their rights is quite another. Islam attaches the greatest importance to human life. The Holy Quran says that killing of any innocent human being is like killing the entire human race and to save an innocent person from being killed is like saving the whole human race. No non-Muslim can be compelled to become a Muslim by force because the Holy Quran says clearly that there is no compulsion in religion *(La Ikraha fiddin)*. It also says: "For you is your religion and for me is my religion" (*Lakum dinukum wa liya din)*. Just treatment of non-Muslim citizens in a Muslim/Islamic Society is the religious duty of the Muslims, for this, it is not necessary that Muslims of Kashmir should be bound to the chariot wheels of Indian secularism, which is another name of Hindu communalism and extremism.

Afghan rule of Kashmir, established by the conquest of Kashmir by Ahmad Shah in 1752, was one of his rule. Dr. G.M.D. Soofi says:-"It is unfortunate that, under Afghan rule, several of the total of fourteen governors from Kabul tried to sever their connection with Kabul and to establish themselves as independent rulers of the country because of preoccupation of the Afghan rulers in Iranian or Indian campaigns, or internecine struggles for the throne of Afghanistan. Some of these *Nazims* (Governors) enjoyed brief spells of independence but were, at last, reduced to subjection."

Some of the governors were benevolent, some with a religious bent of mind, one of them, Abdullah Alakozai tried to establish real Islamic rule in the State.

In 1810, another Governor Ata Muhammad Khan, declared independence and in order to gain local support for his venture, struck a coin in the name of the most respected national and patron saint of Kashmir, Sheikh Nooruddin Wali. On one side of the coin was written the name of Sheikh Nooruddin Alamdari Kashmir and on the other side was written the saying of the Holy Prophet of Islam which says that the world is carrion and those who run after it are dogs.

Afghan rule, and thus the Muslim rule, ended in Kashmir in 1819 as the crafty Kashmiri pandits conspired against the State, which they were managing as bureaucrats. Contact was established with the Sikh ruler of Lahore who annexed the Valley in the year 1819 A.C.

The Sikhs had shaken the foundations of the Mughal empire and also crossed swords with Kabul. They were ruling entire Punjab, how could they spare Kashmir?

This was the end of the Muslim rule in Kashmir. 179 years have passed since then and the odds for the Kashmiris have increased with the passage of time. The Sikhs were followed by the Dogras, and the Dogras were succeeded, by Hindu India, which was invited by the Dogras, of course with the connivance of Muslim renegades of Kashmir and the ordeal which started for the Kashmiris in 1819 A.C. is still going on. But all these two centuries (minus 22 years) the Muslims of Kashmir have resisted the onslaught. Hindu imperialism and the Hindu culture, which wanted to devour not only the Kashmiris but Muslims all over India.

The resistance which the Muslims of Kashmir made during this period, can be termed as the Pakistan Movement in Kashmir, because, what after all, is Pakistan? It was and is a movement for the restoration of the old glory of Islam, for setting up a real government of the Muslims based on the principles of Islamic polity and social justice, which is far superior to all other man-made systems evolved for the betterment of the human race.

SIKH CONQUEST OF KASHMIR

The Afghan rule of Kashmir, which started with the conquest of Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1752, could not last long. The Afghans at Kabul were preoccupied with their internecine strife in their homeland, or with conflicts with Iran and India. And in the meantime, their *Nazims* or Governors in Kashmir were tempted to declare their own independence. The Afghan at Kabul could not continue with the remote control and when they sent their armies to subdue the recalcitrant Governors of Kashmir, they were subdued temporarily and it often happened that once authority of Kabul on Kashmir was established, the other *subedar/nazim* or Governor would declare himself independent, with some local support.

It was during this time that Ranjit Singh, a local ruler in a part of the Punjab, got himself established just as *rajah* and then as the Maharaja of the Punjab. It was on 12th April, 1801 that Baba Sahib Singh Bedi, said to be a direct descendent of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, "anointed" Ranjit Singh with saffron and proclaimed him as the Maharaja of the Punjab.

At that time, the Sikhs were, as they now are, a part of the Hindu religion. There are stories that the founder of the Sikh religion, Baba Guru Nanak performed *hajj* and wore a cloak, on which are written Quranic verses and this cloak has been preserved as a relic by the Sikh priests in Darbar Sahib, Amritsar. It may be that. It is also true that Sikhs do not indulge in idol worship like the Hindus, but for all practical purposes, they are said to be a sect of the larger brotherhood of Hinduism. They sided politically with the Hindus in 1974, but are now repenting way they did not accept the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam to make their homeland part of Pakistani Punjab.

Anyhow, we see Ranjit Singh emerge as a political force to be reckoned with in the beginning of the 18th century. There is lot of evidence to prove that the British East India Company's policy was also to prop up his regime as a buffer kingdom between British India and the Russian Bear. The provided all sort of support to the Sikh regime in this respect.

Ranjit Singh also tried to his best to maintain good relations with the British. He employed a number of Britishers as well as Europeans in his army and tried to organise his army on the lines of the British East India Company forces.

The name of Kashmir has been attracting conquerors and adventures from the very beginning. Therefore, Ranjit Singh also wanted to annex this beautiful land. One of the life ambitions of Ranjit was to visit the Valley of Kashmir, which he was never able to accomplish.

In a letter to his Governor, when Kashmir was part of the Sikh domain of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh wrote, as follows:

"Would that, I could only once in my life enjoy the delights of wandering through the gardens of Kashmir, flagrant with almond blossoms and sitting on the fresh green turf", says B.N.K. Bamzai in his *History of Kashmir*, page 582.

Thus, with the tacit support of the British, Ranjit started his manipulations to make Kashmir part of his Empire. Contact was established with the Kashmiri Pandit officials and officers of the Afghan authority in Kashmir. It may be noted that despite the fact that Kashmir was under Muslim rule for 486 years, the Kashmiri pandit minority had a great say in the affairs of the administration.

The Afghan rule was not well established in Kashmir in the sense that rulers were not benevolent like the Mughals, or the earlier independent kings. The pandits were not happy at all, though some of them enjoyed positions of power in the administration. But those in authority, were all along conspiring against the Afghan rule, which after all, was the Muslim rule of Kashmir.

Azim Khan, the last Afghan governor of Kashmir from Kabul, appointed Pandit Birbal Dhar, Mirza, Pandit Dhar and Sukha Ram Safaya on very important posts.

The Dhars are a caste or a family of Kashmir known for their intrigues. There is a saying in Kashmiri Persian: "*Dar na bayad gnzasht bi zanjeer*" which means that: that the door must be left without the chain or the bolt. There is a pun on the word "dar" which is written in Persian with the letters "*daal*" and "*ra*" and dar in Persian means the door. But in the context of Kashmir, it also means the "*dar*" family and the advice of the saying is that a "*dar*" must always be kept in chains and restraint.

Birbal dar was the Revenue officer or the *Afsare Maal* of the Kashmir Government. In the fatal year of 1819, the Revenue officer reported to the *Nazim* that revenue collected by the authority was short by one lakh of rupees. The Governor thought that Birbal had embezzled the amount and that the deficit was not so high. Birbal was taken into custody and on this, Mirza Pandit, a relative of Birbal, stood, surety for him and he was set free, on the assurance that he would not escape from Kashmir. But, since Birbal was in contact with the Sikh Durbar in Lahore and was waiting for the day when he could reach Lahore and invite the Sikhs to attack Kashmir, one day inspite of the surety, he escaped to Lahore. When the Governor learnt of this, he sent for the surety, Mirza Pandit. Bamzai, on page 420 of his book, has quoted the talk which took place between the Governor and the Surety, which tries to elevate the conspirators in the eyes of the readers. It seems that Azim Khan was credulous Pathan, unaware of the depth of the conspiracy which was going on between Lahore and Srinagar for the overthrow of the Afghan rule in Kashmir.

After getting assurance from the Paramount power, the British, that they would not be annoyed the pursuit of the Sikh Maharajah in Kashmir, Ranjit Singh made the attempt for the last and the successful attack on Kashmir. The preparations started in February 1819 and the Sikh army, helped also by the local Muslim rulers of the hilly areas surrounding Kashmir on the North and West, was divided into three columns. Thus Poonch and Rajouri fell easily into the hands of the invading Sikh and on the 4th of July, 1819 A.C. a decisive battle took place at Hirpur, some five miles from the Shupian town. Jabbar Khan, the Afghan fighter, and the last Governor of the Kabul regime in the Valley of Kashmir, was wounded in the battle and fled towards Srinagar.

Ranjit Singh was mighty pleased with the victory in Kashmir and the event was observed with great Jubilation and illumination in Lahore for three days.

The passing of Kashmir into the hands of the Sikhs was a great calamity for the Muslims of Kashmir.

Thus, 1819 was the beginning of the end, the end which we have not been able to see for the last 180 years.

The Sikh rule of Kashmir was the worst period of the Kashmir history. It is even now called the *Sikha Shahi*, or the kingship of the Sikhs, and is remembered with disdain by the Kashmiris. Whenever the government is cruel and unkind to the subjects, or when strange and unexpected things of torture take place, it is said to be an example of *Sikha Shahi.*

Interestingly, one of the Sikh Governors from Lahore, during the Sikh rule of 27 years, was named Kore Singh. Whatever Kore may mean in Punjabi, in Persian, it means "blind". Thus a Kashmiri poet of Islamabad (Anantnag) wrote a Persian verse which has become proverbial now. Said he, Hamidullah Islamabadi:

Koresingh Hakim-o-Sultan chu baashad ranjeet
Shikwaiy jore makun alame koraa koreest

(When you have a Governor whose name is Kore (blind) Singh, and when you have a monarch, Ranjeet (who is actually blind in one eye), well, then do not complain of any oppression.)

The change of masters was for the Kashmiri people according to the proverb "from the frying pan into the fire." Mark what Pandit Bazaz the Kashmiri writer, has to say about the event: "But the change of masters, again to the great distress of the victimised people, but a change of King log for King Stork. The Sikhs were no less cruel, rapacious, short sighted, intolerant and fanatical, than the Afghans. The Sikhs looked upon Kashmiris as little better than cattle". Wrote William Moorcraft, who visited Kashmir with the permission of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: "The murder of a native by a Sikh was punished by a fine to the government from sixteen to twenty rupees of which four rupees were paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two if he was a Mohammedan." Moorcraft found that everywhere the poeple were in a most abject condition "subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression."

Mr. Bazaz further says: "In the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, as to a considerable extent even today, religion played the most effective part into the administration of the country. If Afghan were tyrannical towards the Muslim nobles the Sikh government treated the Hindu *jagirdars* less harshly. Of course, the poor sections of the public, of both communities, suffered equally . . . The Muslims would gather in the mosques and other religious shrines to conspire for the over throw of the Sikhs and to achieve independence.

"Diwan Motiram, therefore, closed the *Jamia Masjid* so that Muslims may not assemble there in large numbers. He planned to demolish the *Khanqahi Mualla* and as a matter of fact installed guns on the opposite *ghat* (bank) of the Vitasta (river Jhelum) for the purpose. But the Hindus as well as Muslims opposed this measure, which was in flagrant violation of the noble principles of Kashmir Culture. "It is to the lasting credit of Birbal Dhar (Dar) that, when a deputation of Muslims headed by Hasan Shah Qadri Khanyari approached him, he dissuaded the Sikhs from the destruction of the *Khanqah*, writes Ghulam Muhiuddin Soofi. "He moved in the matter, used his influence and saved this historic structure from vandalism."[22]

Bazaz has to say further: "Diwan Moti Ram forbade cow-slaughter and declared it to be a crime punishable with death. Some Muslims accused of it, were actually hanged and dragged through the streets. One whole family suspected of the crime was even burnt alive in their house by the police." It is remembered even today by the Kashmiri people, that in the Sikh period, Kashmiris found guilty of cow-slaughter, were thrust into a great pile of hay, and the pile was set on fire. This is called "*gaaseh naar*" in Kashmiris language.

The Sikhs ruled Kashmir ruthlessly for 27 years. During those years, not only the oppression of the Sikhs rulers, but heavenly calamities also overtook the people of Kashmir. Famines, floods and epidemics ruined the Valley of Kashmir. Feeling insecure in the homeland, because of the tyranny and the other calamities, many Kashmiris migrated to the plains. The population of the Valley of Kashmir, which was eight hundred thousand at the beginning of the Sikh rule, came to just 2,00000 (two lakhs). Vast area of land remained uncultivable in Kashmir for years together.

It was during the period when Kashmir was under the Sikhs of Lahore, that Hazrat Sayyed Ahmad of Bareli (India) accompanied by his companion Shah Ismail, and the Mujahideen came to present NWFP and set up an Islamic Khilafat or Caliphate there. First, its Headquarters were at Panjtaar and later on they shifted to another place. When the great Sayyed came to know that the Muslim State of Kashmir had been overrun by the Sikhs, he thought that this was the time to help the Muslims of Kashmir. The Kashmiris themselves prayed to Allah Almighty and longed for the day when He in His Mercy would send somebody to help the poor Kashmiris out in their time of subjugation and servitude.

Justice M.Y. Sarraf quotes the English poet, who lamented for the Kashmiris in following words:

> Blest Allah: who shall save her now
> There is not in all that warrior-band.
> One Arab sword, one turned brow,
> From her own faithful Muslim land[23]

The Sikh onslaught on Kashmir was resisted by the tribal people from the Muzaffarabad district. The *Khakhas* and *Bambas* (the former are Rajputs and the latter claim descent from the Bani Ummayya clan of Arabia) were a terror to the Sikh rulers and they continued their fight against the Sikhs even for some time during the Sikh rule.

"The Arab sword" for the help of the Kashmiris appeared in the person of Hazrat Sayyed Ahmad Barelvi, who decided to help the Kashmiris who were not admitting the rule of the Sikhs. Sayyed Ahmad established contact with the mujahideen and it was decided that Sayyed Ahmad and his mujahideen would march towards Muzaffarabad and reinforce the Kashmiris. But the battle, instead of taking place inside the Kashmir State, took place at Balakot, because, writes Sayyed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, in *Seerat-e Sayyed Ahmed Shaheed* "the best way to help the mujahideen who were fighting against the Sikhs in Kashmir, was that of Balakot, in the Hazara Division of the present North Western Frontier Province. It was decided that Maulavi Khairuddin and Maulana Shah Ismail should be sent to Balakot for surveying the area from military point of view.

In the year 1827, Sultan Zabardast Khan of Muzaffarabad collected a force in order to face the Sikhs and drive them out of the area. He is said to have been contacted by Sayyed Ahmed Barelvi and assured help in the venture of clearing the area of Sikh domination. M.Y. Sarraf has published the English translation of a latter purported to have been written by Sayyed Ahmad Barelvi, to Raja Zabardast Khan of Muzaffarabad on 7th Rabiul Awwal, 1239 Hijri. It would not be out of place to quote the letter (translation), *in toto*:

"In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful from Amir-ul Mumineen to Sultan Zabardast Khan, Sultan Najaf Khan of Kahori and Sultan Ahmad Khan and their eminent companions.

"After wishing you well, you are hereby informed that we are thankful to God who has opened for the Gates of Victory, in that, when this servant of God left Amb to capture Peshawar, and settle the country of Sarah and left behind Maulana Muhammad Ismail with a small number of men to guard Amb. Hari Sing, the Kafir . . . and . . . in collaboration with the hypocrites from Tanoli attacked Amb and the forts in Chitrabal with his full force and artillery, but with the Grace of God, the soldiers of God, suffered no loss at all, while a large number of the *Kafirs* were killed. They had to run away from those areas with shame and when I was myself busy settling the territory of Sarah, all the Durani Sardars unlashed a war against us with their full force and artillery. Consequently, a battle took place between the mujahids and the hypocrites between the villages Toroo and Hoti. For several days the battle raged and ultimately, with the help of God, the mujahids overcame the Hypocrites. They had to run away despite their large numbers, a large of them and their horses were killed. Most of their Sardars have been killed. 20 Mujhaids gained martyrdom and almost the same number was wounded; our Sardar such as Maulana Sahib and Arbab Bahram Khan and others are quite remain there. Insha-Allah, with the Grace of God, I shall be keeping you informed of future developments. You can hear the details from the messenger who is carrying this letter. dated 7th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 9 Hijri.. Ahmad."

It is evident from the text of the above letter that the Sayyed is not addressing somebody whom he knows only in name, but who, along with the companions, is well-known to the Sayyed. It is an intimate letter and it proves that the contact was not this letter only, this may be one of the many letters exchanged between persons who knew each other fully well.

Justice Sarraf says that in Kashmir Valley itself, a number of people pledged their support to Maulana Nizamuddin Chistie who was the Khalifa (Representative) of the Sayyed in the Valley of Kashmir.[24]

Sayyed Ahmad Bareilvi dispatched about three hundred of his mujahideen to the recipient of the above letter Zabardast Khan. When the mujahideen reached Muzaffarabad, it apeears that he, Zabardast Khan, became double-minded. According to the *Seerate Sayyed Ahmad Shaheed*, he sent a message to the Sikhs that if they return the goods which they had looted from him, to him, he would make peace with the Sikhs. The mujahideen leader complained to Sayyed Ahmad about the attitude of Zabardast Khan, who advised him to take a decision according to the local circumstances. On this the leader of the mujahideen is said to have made an attack on Garhi, and defeated the local commander of the Sikhs. On this occasion, the mujhaideen leader, Maulvi Khairuddin reminded the Raja from Muzaffarabad that the mujahideen had come to drive the Sikh rulers from the area but Zabardast Khan continued with his double-mind and one day, it was reported to the mujahideen that the Raja wanted to run away from Muzaffarabad along with his belongings. Advice of the mujahideen fell flat on him.

It appears that Zabardast Khan had promised help of provisions, including arms and ammunition to the mujahideen, but he did not fulfill it when the mujahideen reached Muzaffarabad. The mujahideen had to return to their leader, Sayyed Ahmad, because of the lack of power of decision on the part of Zabardast Khan.

To cut a long thing short, when the mujahideen, led by Sayyed Ahmad and his lieutenant Shah Ismail, were poised for an attack on Muzaffarabad, intelligence was brought to them that Sher Singh, a general of the Sikh Durbar of Lahore, was going to meet them and intercept them halfway, with an army of thirteen thousand well-armed soldiers.

The battle between the mujahideen of Sayyed Ahmed and the Sikh General, Sher Singh, took place on 24th of *Zi qadah* 1246 Hijri (Corresponding to May 1831) at Balakot. Most of the mujahideen, including the two great divines Sayyed Ahmad and Maulana Ismail, were martyred. The Sikhs won a victory over the mujahideen. The result was a great setback to the freedom movement of the poeple of Kashmir.[25]

It was during these very days that there were large scale of disturbances in Poonch district of Kashmir against the Sikhs. The latter had overrun Poonch when

Maharajah Ranjit Singh's troops were on way to Kashmir. Gulab Singh on behalf of the Sikh Durbar of Lahore, had been visiting Poonch and suppressing the movement of the mujahideen. The brave warriors of Poonch faced death and destruction at the hands of the Dogras. In Mung (Tehsil Sudhnuti) and Bagh, as also in the Haveli tehsil, a number of Muslim rebels were captured by the Dogras. Not only this, after captivity, they were fleeced alive and their skins were filled with straw and the same were hung on trees with steel chains, so that the other people of Poonch may learn their lessons. Maulavi Mir Alam Khan records that, when a Muslim rebel was being fleeced alive, his son (of Gulab Singh, the Dogra tyrant, who was yet to become the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir but was representing the Sikh Durbar) turned his face aside as he shuddered at the sight of a human being fleeced alive. His father rebuked him and asked him: "How will you rule this country if you are not ready to face this scene?

In Mung village of Sudhnuti, about thirty years ago, I (the author) saw with my own eyes in 1968, the chains hanging from the trees on which were hung the skins of Muslim rebels filled with straw in the year 1831. In fact it was the same year when the battle of Balakot took place.[26]

It seems that the uprising of the Muslims in the State was simultaneous and spontaneous. Since communication in those days was very primitive, the only means of recording events and informing others of the happenings in a particular land was possible only by letter and by word of mouth. There was no press, no radio and no telephone.

Under these circumstances, when the mujahideen were wiped out of the Frontier Province, and the Sikhs dominated the whole of Punjab, it was impossible for a Muslim area like Kashmir to attain to freedom independently. On the defeat of the mujahideen, the Sikhs again organised jubilations and illumination in Lahore. The poor Kashmiris were left with no other course, than to submit to the domination of the Sikhs.

There were two of the Sikh Governors who were good-natured and not vindicitive like the others; but most of them indulged in loot, plunder and enjoyment of the "good things" of life like the Epicurians.

Then something happened in the Punjab itself, which ended the Sikh rule in Kashmir and then in the Punjab. Sikhs were defeated in the battle of Subhraon. This happened at the time when Ranjit Singh was no more in this world. In fact Britishers had also been waiting for the death of Ranjit Singh. The then Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh forces, Gulab Singh Dogra was all in all in the Sikh Durbar, but in fact he was in league with the British, the enemies of the Sikh regime. His links with the British were older than the battle of Subhraoon, because, according to the *Remenances of a Bengal Civillian* page 104, quoted by Prem Nath Bazaz in the words of William Edward "Gulab Singh had urged the Sikh army not to attempt attacking the British until he joined them and this he evaded doing on one pretext or the other, knowing full will that in due time the British would attack and capture the position at Subhraon".

The Sikhs lost their freedom at the battle of Subhraon, This was largely due to the treacherous role of Gulab, who was hand in gloves with the British. He desired to have a kingdom of his own, it was with this desire that during the Sikh rule, he was expanding his own empire in the name of Sikh suzeranity in Ladakh and Baltistan in the East and Poonch and Rajouri in the west of Kashmir. Now his eyes were set on the famous beautiful Valley of Kashmir. When the Sikhs were defeated, they were bound to agree to what the British dictated. The Treaty of Lahore was signed between the Sikhs and the British East India Company on March 9, 1846. Even in this Treaty it was agreed that Gulab Singh would be the ruler of what he was holding then and also of the areas in the hills, which could be handed over to him by separate treaties. It was evident that Gulab Singh had a deep understanding with the British who wanted that Kashmir be given to him. The much awaited Treaty of Amritsar recognised him as the independent ruler of Gilgit and Kashmir.

It was evident now that when Gulab Singh had been sending expeditions to Ladakh, even Tibet and Baltistan, he was actually expanding his own empire. He was in league with the British and was befooling the Sikhs, whose empire, after the demise of its builder, Ranjeet Singh, was tottering indeed.

We reproduce in Chapter II the text of the Treaty of Amritsar, dated March 16, 1846, between the British East India Company and the Dogra ruler of the Jammu principalty, Gulab Singh, who and whose progeny misruled the State of Jammu and Kashmir for one hundred and one years.

CHAPTER II

TREATY OF AMRITSAR

On behalf of the British East Indian Company, the Treaty was signed by Mr. F. Currie and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence on behalf of Lord Harding the Governor General, while Gulab Singh signed it on his own behalf. The Treaty was as follows:

"Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharajah Gulab Singh on Jammu on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by Federic Currie, Esquire and Brevet - Major Hanry Montgomery Lawrence acting under the orders of the Rt. Honorable Sir Henry Hardings, G.C.B. one of Her Brittanic Majesty's most honorable Privy Council Governor General of the possessions of the East India Company, to direct and control all their affairs in the east Indies and by Maharajah Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1

The British Governments transfers and makes over for even in independent possession to Maharajah Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly and mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provision of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846.

Article 2

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharajah Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Gulab Singh respectively for the purpose and shall be defined in a separate agreement after survey.

Article 3

The consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by provisions of the foregoing article, Maharajah Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy five lakes of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lakes to be paid on ratification of this Treaty and twenty five lakes on or before the first of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4

The limits of the territories of Maharajah Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5

Maharajah Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or question that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring states and will abide by the decisions of the British Government.

Article 6

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his military forces, the British troops, when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject nor the subject of any European or American States without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of the articles V, VI and VII of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March, 1846.

"Referring to jagirdars, arrears of revenue and property in the forts that are to be transferred."

Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Gulab Singh protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10

Maharajah Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government, one horse, twelve (shawl) goats of approved breed, (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

This Treaty of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederic Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under directions of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardings, G.C.B. Government and by Maharajah Gulab Singh in person and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the Seal of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardings, G.C.B.; Governor General.

(Done at Amristar, the 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rabe-ul-Awsal 1262 Hijree).

Signed : Currie Signed : H. Harding (Seal)

Signed : H. H. Lawrence Signed : Maharajah Gulab Singh

By order of the right Honorable Governor General of India.

Signed : F. Currie

Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General

J.D. Cunninghm says:

On this occasion, Maharajah Gulab Singh stood up and with joined hands expressed his gratitude to the British Viceroy, adding however, without any ironical meaning that he was indeed his *zar khareed* or a slave bought against gold.[28]

There is lot of evidence to prove that Gulab Singh had, long before the Treaty of Amritsar which transferred the Kashmir State and Gilgit to him, having contacts with the British East India Company and was be-fooling his apparent masters, the Sikhs. Secret correspondence of the Viceroy of India (The Governor General) with the British Government provides sample proof of this fact.

There is an impression in most circles that when Kashmir was sold like this, along with the Kashmiris, in March 1846, the Kashmiris behaved like dumb-driven cattle. This is not correct. Firstly, it is to be remembered that Kashmiris, who were at that time part of the Sikh dominion of Lahore, like Punjab itself, did not know what was going on in Lahore or in Amritsar. It was primarily the concern of the Sikh Durbar or their governor in Kashmir.

Rasheed Taseer, author of the *Tahreek-i-Hurriyat Kashmir*, in the first volume of his book says that the Kashmiris did not take the whole thing lying down. When Gulab Singh went to Kashmir, soon after the Treaty to take possession of the capital of Kashmir, the Governor of the Sikh Durbar Sheikh Imamuddin, who had a Kashmiri wife, resisted the attempt of the Dogra Maharajah to capture Kashmir. There was a battle between the Sikh plus Kashmiri forces and a large number of the troops of Gulab Singh, were killed in the battlefield, which is now the place where the famous Lal Chauk (Red Square) of Srinagar and the politically and militarily active suburb of Srinagar, Maisuma, is situated. Gulab Singh, along with the remaining surviving troops, took to heels from behind the Shankar Acharaya hill, which Muslims of Kashmir call "Suleman Teng" and fled back to Jammu.[29]

Gulab Singh, in distress, went to his British Masters with the complaint that the territory which they transferred to him was not being given to him and they should give him military assistance to get the possession. The British acceded to his request and troops of the East India Company were dispatched to Kashmir along with the Dogra army and Srinagar fell to this joint force of Dogras and British's on 9th November 1846, that is, more than six months after the transaction of Lahore.

It appears that the British, realizing the strategic importance of Jammu and Kashmir, and the natural beauty with which Kashmir has been endowed by Nature, repented having transferred Kashmir to Gulab Singh for a paltry sum of money, which Gulab Singh was not in a paying mood. He, however, under pressure from the company, paid the seventy five lake rupees to the Company in small installments for four years. Dr. Khawaja Hameed Yazdani, in his book *Kashmir ki Farokht* (Sale of Kashmir) has published that text of the receipt issued by three British Officers, *viz*, H.M. Lawrence, John Lawrence and C.E. Mausal on 20th

March, 1850. This receipt, of which the original, according to Dr. Yazdani, is in the record offices, covers the whole amount, while it says that for each installment, a separate receipt was also given. According to the Agreement, Gulab Singh was to pay the whole amount by 1st October 1846, but he dilly-dallied in it. One of reasons was that the possession of Kashmir could not be obtained by him by that date. What is more, he had no cash in hand. Some of it was borrowed by him and then he started fleecing his Kashmir subjects in order to pay to the British's the cost of Kashmir, which was fixed in *Chilki* or *Nanakshahi* rupees. The *Chilki* or *Nanakshahi* was of the Sikh Mint of Lahore. It was smaller than the rupee coin of the British Company. The *chilki* was of the value of ten annas of the British Company's rupee, which had sixteen annas. Thus the amount to be paid by Gulab Singh was just fifty lakh rupees of the East India Company's rupees.

There are documents which prove that the British nation was not satisfied with the sale of Kashmir to a tyrant and an opportunist like Gulab Singh. Hameed Yazdani, in the book mentioned above, has published the text of a letter which was sent to Maharajah Gulab Singh, by Henry Lawrence, who had concluded the Treaty with Gulab Singh. It appears from the letter, which Lawrence wrote to Gulab Singh, that he had made certain promises and commitments to him, which he never honoured. The text of the letter of Henry Lawrence, representative of the British Crown, one of the signatories of the Treaty of Amritsar, has been published by Dr. Yazadani, and its contents are as follows:[30]

"*Maharajah Sahib*."

"With much grief I have heard from Mr. Agnew that you have not fulfilled the terms of agreement voluntarily made by your Highness with Lt. Taylor. Mr. Agnew moreover, informed me yesterday that you have not only not relieved the distress of your people, as you promised to do so, but that you have added to them. That you still trade contrary to promise; that you have not removed your internal custom houses, as you agreed to do, that you do not only permit free trade of rice, but that directly or indirectly you have taxed. Already, Mr. Agnew says, many families have obandoned Kashmir and that it is only claim of your Guard Houses on the different roads that prevent larger numbers flying from your oppression.

"All this is very harmful to hear just as I am leaving Lahore and when I had hoped from Lt. Taylor, reports that your Highness was employed in measures conducive to your best interests as well as the welfare of your people.

"I write these lines that you may not mistake my sentiments do I send your own confidential agent Dewn Jawala Sehai to you. I have during the last few days entered into all particulars of your case with him. How much honour and prosperity is before you, for yourself and posterity if you only conduct yourself with justice and liberty if in short you abide by your agreements. On the other hand I again solemnly warn Your Highness as a friend and well-wisher, as one who has striven for your welfare that the British Government will not permit tyranny in Kashmir and the country under your rule; and that if you will not act for yourself some other arrangement will be made for the protection of the Hill people.

Pray weigh well this my parting address, and do not allow it like many others to hope (?) unheeded so as to be thought of a day or a month and then be forgotten. The least that will occur will be that one or two officers will at any early date proceed to Kashmir to examine and report on the real state of the country. Recollect that the British Government want nothing from you, ask nothing of you for themselves, but that eschewing the practices of a trader, you will fulfill those of a sovereign".

Here ends the text of the letter purported to have written by Henry Lawrence to Maharajah Gulab Singh. No date is given in the book of Dr. Yazdani, but it is obvious that the author of the letter is retiring from his job in the Company or is going back home, but the promises which Gulab Singh had made to him, were not fulfilled and therefore this letter. Mark the last sentence of the letter. The writer calls himself a trader, for that is what the East Indian Company consisted of and it is likely that Henry Lawrence may have called himself trader because when Kashmir was transferred by the Company to Gulab Singh, the Company was the trader. The word used for Gulab Singh is sovereign, which seems to have been used with a bit of sarcasm.

This letter confirms the theory that British nation had second thoughts over the sale of Kashmir. By it only reminds of the verse of Ghalib, the poet:

Key meray qatl kay baad us nay jafa say taubah
Hai us zood pasheman, ka pasheman hona

(He made repentance after killing me. How sad is the repentance of the one who repented after killing me.)

The sale of Kashmir by the British was one of the greatest tragedies of the world of the last century. In the present century also, the British left the issue of Kashmir undecided in the year 1947, and one of their own man Lord Louis Mountbatten, repeated what the British had done in selling out Kashmir to the Dogra ruler of Jammu one year before. The East India Company was a trading and commercial organization and they got money in lieu of Kashmir from Gulab Singh, but Mountbatten had no monetary consideration before him. He tried his best to persuade the Maharajah of Kashmir to join India and also paved the way for the joining of Kashmir to India by dividing the British Punjab in a manner which made physical contact of Kashmir possible with East Punjab. More of this sordid policy and action of the last British Governor General of India will be discussed at its proper time. For the present, suffice it to say that the British Company helped in the change of masters of the Kashmir in 1846, and their attempts to restrain the Maharajah and his clan from further exploitation by the ruling clique proved of no avail. Doubtless, they sent the Resident to keep a watch over the administration and tried to make the administration neutral, but in actual practice, they could not help the Kashmir underdog much. Attempts of Muslim philanthropists from British India to help the Kashmir people in the matter of education and social uplift were also thwarted by the Dogra administration.

After attaining political power, the purpose of the Maharajah seems to have been to amass as much wealth as possible. It is a recorded fact that if anybody wanted to resent his case or petition to the Maharajah, he would take out a rupee from his pocket, show it to Maharajah and make a gesture that he had a request to make. On seeing the rupee, the Maharajah would stop his horse on which he used to ride listen to the request of the person and pass necessary orders for the redressal of the grievance or the complaint.

Professor Muhammad Sarwar Abbasi, the author of the book entitled *Kashmiri Musalmanon ki Jidd-o-Juhade-i-Azadi* has quoted from the "will" of Maharajah Gulab Singh, of which the Persian text has also been given, which reveals that towards the end of his life, Gulab Singh seems to have felt that repression of the people was of no help and therefore he said in his will if any one of his heirs was to crush to the people of the State, he would have no right to rule over the State and if such a thing happened in Kashmir, the Government of Punjab could intervene to set the matters right in Kashmir".

If this "will" is read along with the letter which Gulab Singh wrote to Henry Lawrence, the representative of the British East India Company. It can safely be concluded that Gulab Singh had made this "will" also because of pressure from the British authorities.

Gulab Singh passed away in 1857, and was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh, who ruled the state till 1885. Misrule of the State continued during his reign and his advisers and ministers, who were not elected and did not enjoy any public support, continued the economic exploitation of the people of the State, especially of the Muslims of Kashmir, were resisted and foiled by Ranbir Singh. During the role of Ranbir Singh the annexation of Gilgit with the State of Kashmir was completed, after many a battle with the tacit moral support of the British. Most of the area of Gilgit was not included in the Treaty of Amritsar, but the British did not stop the Maharajah from expanding his rule in the Northern Areas, knowing full well that, after all, the Dogra ruler was in fact expanding their sphere of influence and whatever area could come into the orbit of the Dogra *raj*, would automatically come under the suseranity of the British Crown, as because of the terms and conditions of the Treaty of Amritsar, the position of the Maharajah was not more than that of a vessal or agent of the British authority.[31]

Ranbir Singh was succeeded by his son Pratap Singh, who remained the Maharajah of the State 1885 to 1925, that is to say, forty long years. He could read Dogri, Sanskrit and some English language. During his reign, the Jhelum Valley Road, connecting Kashmir with Rawalpindi and Hazara in the Punjab and with Sialkot also, in the South, with the same province. But these roads were constructed with the pressure of the British Resident, who was appointed in the State, to advise the Maharajah and look after the interests of the Paramount power.

It was during the tenure of Pratap Singh that the British authorities accused Pratap Singh of being in correspondence with the Czar of Russia, against the interests of the British Empire.[32] But the Hindu press of

India, like the *Amritbazar Patrika* of Calcutta, and a Hindu journal of Lahore supported the Maharajah and said that he was quite innocent and that the British only wanted to blackmail the Hindu ruler of a Muslims majority State like Kashmir and subdue him into submission. The British paramount power, thus abandoned the idea of dismissing the Maharajah, but he was prevailed upon to sign an order, on 18th April 1889 A.C. in which he said that a Regency Council for Jammu and Kashmir would be set up, with Maharajah's brother Amar Singh as the President and another brother, Ram Singh, as the member.

VICEROY'S ANXIETY

The Regency Council was actually set up in 1891. The Viceroy pointed out to the Maharajah in a letter that it was a sad situation that the treasury of a country like Kashmir, which was full of resources, was empty. Your Highness is surrounded by unfit, and inefficient individuals and the disorder in your Highness's State is a ground of concern to the Government.

Hunza and Agar were made subservient to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. During this period, it seems that the British Authorities thoroughly investigated the allegations of disloyalty and his reported contacts with the Czar of Russia and probably found them to be baseless. The Maharajah was restored his original post and the Regency Council was done away with, but during the period, the grip of the Resident and therefore of the Government of British India on the State Government had been tightened. The Resident was more powerful now.

The intervention of the British Indian Government was a boon for the people of Kashmir. The British National Settlement Commissioner, Sir Walter Lawrence had a great sympathy with the people of Kashmir, the peasantry. It was after a long period of time that the settlement of land was made possible. This noble officer identified himself with the Kashmir peasants. His book on all the aspects of life in Kashmir namely *The Valley of Kashmir*, shows that he was a real humanist, and a great administrator. His work is a sort of Encyclopaedia of Kashmir Valley. It describes the history, the geography, the customs and culture, the religions and the languages of Kashmir. There were others authors from Britain who wrote about Kashmir of those days.

Mention must be made of Robert Throp, the son of a Britisher, who had married a Muslim Kashmiri woman, Jaan by name. Robert Throp came all the way from England to Kashmir, probably as a visitor of the land of his mother. When he found how much oppression was content in the "Paradise on Earth" he could not resist writing all this in a book which he authored as *Misgovernment in Kashmir*. When the book came out, the administration saw to it that he was murdered in cold blood. When his body was found without life in it, it was buried in the Christian graveyard of Kashmir and bears the epitaph: "ROBERT THROP: Who Laid down his life for Kashmir."[33]

ABJECT CONDITION OF MUSLIMS DURING DOGRA DEPOTISM

Gulab Singh, the Maharajah, knew full well that he was not indebted to the people of Kashmir for his fiefdom. In fact, they had opposed his taking over of Kashmir when he came to Srinagar with his army. The Kashmiris and the Governor of the Sikhs, Sheikh Imamuddin, who had a Kashmiri/Muslim wife and was himself a Muslim, per chance, met the Jammu Dogra in the battlefield at Maisuma, in the vicinity of the Lal Chauk or Red Square of Srinagar, which even now is a hotbed of Kashmir agitators/clashes with the Indian security forces in Kashmir. It is the same place where, in

1992, on 26th January, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, the leader of the Bhartiya Janata party, ventured to hoist the Indian tricolour atop a pole on 26th January, the Indian Republic day and not a single Kashmiri, Muslim or non-Muslim, was present. Joshi had to hang his head in shame when the pole broke when he pulled the string to hoist the flag and even Indian troops, who were there to escort Joshi, could not resist their laughter.

When Gulab Singh's army was faced by the joint troops of the Muslim Governor of the Sikhs and the Kashmiris, he and his forces had to flee from behind the Shankaracharya hill, leaving their dead in the Maisuma Ground for the dogs and wolves to eat. Gulab returned after six months, with reinforcement from his British Masters and took over the valley of Kashmir without much resistance. He thus knew that he had bought the valley for money and the support of his British masters was there. He therefore considered the poor Kashmiris, who professed a religion which was not his own, as mere chattel. He himself had told the officers of the East India Company at the time of putting signatures on the Treaty of Amritsar, that he was the *zar-khareed* slave of the British Empire. Why therefore should he not consider the helpless Kashmir as his own slaves?.

There is no doubt that many Muslims had helped Gulab Singh and his successors in ruthless suppression of the Muslims. Some of the money which he paid to the Company as price of the Valley, was also supplied by two Muslims traders, Naamdaar and Kaamdaar. An Afridi General, in the army of Ranbir Singh, helped in the suppression of the people of Gilgit who were heroically resisting the onslaught of Dogra expansion. But these were individual acts of Muslims who had their own interests. The Muslims of Kashmir, wrote Prem Nath Bazaz in the *Inside Kashmir*, never considered any of the Dogra rulers as their ruler. He was an alien for the Kashmiris, whose language, religion and culture was altogether different from that of the Dogra rulers.

Democratic rule was unimaginable at that time. It is to be noted that there were about 562 native states in the Indian subcontinent at the time of independence, but none of them had a democratic form of Government. It was on the State of Jammu and Kashmir which had, in 1947 a legislative assembly, called the Praja Sabha, which had seventy five members, forty elected and thirty five unelected nominated by the Maharajah. All other states, which were then called "Indian India" as to be distinguished from "British India" had despotic rulers, like rajahs, nawabas and maharajahs.

One of the main sources of employment, besides agriculture, arts and crafts, was the Government service. When somebody is in Government service, he can influence the entire administration and the shape of politics and policies in a State. There is current in Kashmir a Persian proverb : *Toddhai ashrafi wa zarrayay hakumat*" (a pile of gold coins is equal to an atom of administrative power). During the Dogra period, they had *chokidars* in every village. The pay of a *chokidar* was four or five rupees a month but the authority availed by him was immense. When he would visit the village with his partly red turban, the poor villagers were much scared of him. And if a red-turbaned policeman visited the village, everybody was terror-stricken. The people in the villages and the cities were unarmed. Only one or two persons being hunters, could keep a *topidar* shotgun and for that too, they had to obtain a licence. In the Valley, the Kashmiris could not keep a knife which was more that six inches long. Only professional butchers could keep longer knives.

The administrative machinery in Kashmir was dominated by the Pandits, who were the coreligionists of the Dogra rulers. What is more, the Pandits had great adaptability. They enjoyed very high positions in the posts they occupied in Muslim rule and their posts have assumed the position of castes or surnames of many of the pandits, like *Kazanchi* (The treasurer) *Mahaldar* etc.

Muslims as a class lacked worldly education and they could not aspire, nor could they get, Government jobs in a State whose ruler was a Hindu. The Dogras, as well as their predecessors, the Sikh, were afraid of the majority of the Muslim which they enjoyed in the Valley and it was their policy that a Kashmiri Muslim should not think of himself more than an underdog. The mere name of a Muslim was enough to remind the non-Muslim of the great past of the Muslims in the subcontinent. Wrote Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq:[34]

Keun Somnath rakhay usko bhala mulaazim
Urzi mein naam likkha Mahmud jisnay upna

That is to say, "Why should Somnath employ somebody in the Government service who writes his name in the application as Mahmud".

This alludes to the episode of Mahmud of Ghazni, who invaded India seventeen times and in one of his invasions, he destroyed the great Hindu temple of Somnath in Western India. The very word Mahmud is allergic for the Hindus.

Just a few years ago, when Muslims in a village in Indian-held Kashmir said *Azan* or the call of prayer in a masjid near the Line of Actual Control, the Hindu army asked the *muezzin* why he was invoking the name of Akbar—the Mughal King who had died many hundred years ago. The Hindu army-men on hearing *Allah-o Akbar* thought that the Muslim villagers were invoking the name of Akbar Mughal (called Akbar "the Great" by non-Muslim writers for his "Secular views") to help them. The caller for prayer or *azan* explained to the Hindu soldiers that Akbar meant "Greatest" and it was one of the many adjectival names of Almighty God and it did not mean Akbar the Mughal King.

MUSLIMS NEGLECTED

During the period of one hundred and one years of the Dogra rule, there were 28 prime ministers in the State of Jammu Kashmir, but not a single one of them was a Muslim.[35] All of them were non-Muslims. The Muslims Conference, when it was formed in 1932, used to demand the appointment of any Christian (*angrez*) as the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, but it was rejected by the Dogra ruler. Col. Calvin and later on Sir Maharajah Singh, were appointed Prime Ministers. Wakefield was also a Christian, but when these gentlemen tried to do some justice to the Kashmir Muslims, they were shown the way out by the Dogra rulers, despite the pressure of the State Department of the Government of British India to the contrary.

With a Hindu as the ruler and Hindu as the Prime Minister, what justice and favour could the subservient Muslims of Kashmir expect from the Government. Maulna Zafar Ali Khan the poet, rightly said:

Hukmraan bay mehr hai aur bay niaz uska wazir
Shikwah kis say kijiyay phooti hui taqdeer ka?

(When the ruler is unkind and his minister is indifferent, where to complain about shattered destiny?)

During the period of the Dogra rule, the doors of the Government service were blocked for the Muslims, not by law but by practice and usage.

Gulab Singh, aware of the fact that the Valley had been purchased by him, canceled the proprietary rights of the (Muslim) landowners of Kashmir and gave big *jagirs* to his Dogra friends, kinsmen and army-men from his area, i.e., Jammu in the Valley. Thus, slowly and surely, the Dogras became owners of land in a large part of the Valley. These *jagirdars* started exploiting the poor peasants, whose back was already broken by the feudal system.

The people and notables of Kashmir did not take the sale of Kashmir lying down. Justice Sarraf, writes:

"It was therefore, quite natural for Kashmir to look towards Lord Hardings for a re-appraisal of what he did, it seemed at the moment, in a hurry or the unguarded flush of victory. Consequently, three petitions were addressed to the Governor General against the sale, one by hill chiefs who expressed their great sorrow at Kashmir being given to the Maharajah and stating that 'they found no other remedy besides fighting against him.' In another petition, the (Chaudhries, pandits, manufacturers and local inhabitants told him that 'the English, by giving Kashmir to Gulab Singh, are oppressing us ... but if it be that we are to have him, we shall run away, both small and great."[36]

The protests and the reactions of the Kashmiris did not go unnoticed. Lord Hardings, when he ceased to be the Governor General of India and the Viceroy, left India for England in 1848. It appears that Lord Hardings was repentant of what he had done to the Kashmiris by selling them to a tyrant. His conscience seems to have been pricked and on his departure from the subcontinent, he wrote the following letter to Gulab Singh:

"From the Governor General
To Maharajah Gulab Singh"
Dated 7th January 1848.

My friend, I am about to take my departure for Europe *and I am anxious before I leave India* to address your Highness with the freedom and the sincerity of a friend, anxious for your welfare, and above all other considerations, for the happiness of the people committed to your charged by me when I signed the Treaty of March 1848.

Your Highness is aware of the Principal by which the British Government is guided in its Treaties with

Eastern princes where cessions of territory are involved that whilst it will scrupulously fulfill all its obligations for the protections of its ally, it never can consent it incur the reproach of becoming indirectly instrument of the oppression of the people committed to the Prince's charge.

If aversion of a people to the prince's rule should by his injustice become so universal as to cause the people to seek his downfall, the British Government are bound by no obligation to force the people to submit to a Ruler who has deprived himself of their allegiance by his misconduct.

Again, if the British Government, by its treaties with neighbouring princes and the proximity of its own forces on the Frontier can so far protect the Prince as to enable him the more securely to apply all its forces to the oppression of his subjects such a state of thing would be still more repugnant to the feelings of the British Government, because it would indirectly prevent the people from rising and redressing their own wrongs.

In no case therefore will the British Government be the blind instrument of a Ruler's injustice towards his people and if inspite of friendly warnings, the evil of which the British Government may have just cause to complain is not corrected, a system of direct interference must be resorted to which as Your Highness must be aware, would lower the dignity *and curtail the independence of the Ruler.*

Your Highness must be well-convinced that I have never been actuated by any such desire—on the contrary, it has been my inclination as evinced by my acts and those of the Resident, Colonel Lawrence, to give your Kingship every possible support. This desire must, however, be regulated by the duty of the British Government towards your Highness' subjects, and the Government cannot submit to the stigma of tolerating oppression. Let *my friendly advice to your Highness make a salutary impression.* Avoid the interference of the British Government by a ready compliance with its just demands, in which the Governor General can have no other interest than to secure the well-being of your Highness's subjects, and to witness the success of your rule over a happy people.

This is the parting advice of your Highness' well-wisher and friend.

SD: Secretary to the Government of India (True translation).

Earlier, within just eight months of the victory of the Dogra Ruler over the governor of the Sikhs in Kashmir, Lt. Reynell Taylor, the Assistant to the British Resident in Lahore, was sent to Kashmir to inquire about the grievance of the Muslims against Gulab Singh. He met some selected Muslim representatives, who inquired from him to what extent the British could go in delivering the Kashmiris from the hands of the tyrant Gulab Singh. Mr. Taylor, who was mere lieutenant, could not give a precise answer. All that he could do was to say that he would report the whole matter to his superiors.

During the rule of Gulab Singh, averting was taxed. Former rulers used to take the major part of the income of the people of Kashmir, but Gulab Singh even sucked the marrow from the bone of the Kashmiris and deposited it in his treasury.

During the rule of his son, Ranbir Singh, the land revenue was three times more than the similar districts of the Punjab. According to the Administrative Report of the Punjab Government, (1878-79) the supply and sale of foodstuffs was the monopoly of the State Government in Kashmir. The revenue was to be paid both in cash and kind of thus what was left with the peasant, was hardly twenty five per cent of the original produce seventy five per cent was devoured up by the authorities, who had been placed in power by the British rulers.

Sir Walter Lawrence, who severed as the Settlement Commissioner in the State, says in *The India We Ruled* that there was a tax on the butchers, the bakers, the carpenters, boatmen and even on prostitutes. Those who carried the luggage of travelers, had also to pay fifty per cent of their wages to Government. Even the grave-diggers had to pay the taxes. Sir Lawrence writes that, except the air, which Kashmiris could breath freely, there was a tax on everything else.

There was a great famine in Kashmir in 1864 and hungry individuals would go to the nearest river or stream or catch some fish to eat it and keep their body and soul together. But the Maharajah was told that this was against the principles of *ahimsah* (non-violence) and catching of fish was also banned by the order of the Maharajah. Thus life of fish was more valuable than that the life of a dying human being, the Kashmiri Muslim.

It is no record that when some starving Kashmiris appealed to the Maharajah to review this ordinance, they were stripped of their clothes. Necklaces of rotten fish were hung on their necks and they were separated from their homes and kept for three days in this condition in a deserted place. When people started migrating to other places in search of food, they were stopped from migrating.

Says Pandit Bazaz.[37] As early as 1877 A.C. During the days of the great famine (called *Bod Draag* by Kashmiris) a memorandum was stealthily submitted to the British Viceroy in Delhi by some unknown Kashmiris, making specific charges against Ranbir Singh. The memorandum was never published in full. Parts of it that were subsequently quoted by some informed British writers in their books. They show that certain charges levelled were very grave in character. It was said that in order to save the expense of feeding his people, during the famine, the Maharajah actually drowned his poor Muslim subjects by boat-loads in the Vullar lake. The British Government appointed a mixed commission to inquire into the truth of charges but as no one had the courage to come forward to substantiate them, the Maharajah was "exonerated". It appears that the memorandum also contained grievances about misgovernment and maladministration, to which the Maharajah has no satisfactory answer. The British Government, however, realised that they could not help the Kashmiris in any manner unless they could have direct hand in the administration of the country. This they could not do under the provisions of the Treaty of Amritsar, which left the Dogras completely free to deal with the internal administration as they liked. The British authorities were therefore unwilling and hesitant to do anything in 1877 A.C.

When the Dogra took Kashmir, it is said that during a year, Kashmiri shawl-makers used to earn fifty lakhs of rupees, but in 1925, this industry was almost non-existent due to the misrule of the Dogras.

When Gulab Singh's grandson, Pratap Singh, become the Maharajah of Kashmir in 1885, the condition of the people was deplorable and the State had become bankrupt. It was under pressure from the British Indian Government that Sir Walter Lawrence was appointed the Settlement Commissioner of Kashmir.

Sir Lawrence had to face opposition from the officers and officials of the Kashmir Government. The Settlement department, says Lawrence, by the year 1891 (two years after his appointment) had become so recognized as a part of the administration that it is now almost impossible to realize how, in 1889, a *tehsildar* pre-emptorily stopped survey operations and ordered all my subordinates to leave his jurisdiction, It was only natural that the officials should oppose the Settlement, and that they should boycott my subordinates, but the serious impediment to the work was the fact that the villagers themselves distrusted the Settlement. For many years proceedings the year 1887, surveys of the villages had been in progress, but nothing come out of them. The people were harassed by the presence of the hungry *Amins* but beyond a fictitious survey, there was no result. The Kashmiris believed that the survey commenced by Mr. Wingate in 1887, would lead to the same results and the officials spared no pains to convince them that the laborious chaining of the rice-fields would end in nothing. In 1889, I at once commenced inspecting the Laar tehsil in order to frame assessment. The *tehsildar* not only remained absent himself, but succeeded in preventing the villagers from communicating with me.[38]

But Sir Lawarence did his job with a missionary zeal and the settlement of the land in Kashmir was done in such a manner that Kashmiris peasants even to this day remember Lawrence as their friend and benefactor.

Other ills which had ruined Kashmir were the *Sahukara* system, or money lending which has assumed alarming proportions. The system of interest was that of compound interests and loans obtained by a person would continue to be a burden on the same family for generations to come. There was the system of forced and unpaid labour. Even the smallest Government official could force each and every Kashmiri, except the non-Muslims of Kashmir and the *imams* of the masjids in Kashmir, to carry his burden for days to come. The Dogra army could force any number of people out of their homes and order them to accompany the troops on lengthy and hazardous expeditions in far off Gilgit and other remote areas of the State. Even bridegrooms who were married on the same day, were dragged for *begar* (forced labour). E.F. Knight says when the people are dragged to forced labour, their kith and kin start weeping and lamenting, as they are sure that the person involved may never come back. Thus, to save themselves from *begar* people offer large sums of money to officials and request them to spare them from the *begar*.

In the absence of those who are taken for the forced labour, their family members not only suffer from pangs of separation, their field cannot be tilled. There is nobody to defend their families from hunger and theft.

NO FREEDOM OF RELIGION : NO EDUCATION

There was no freedom of religion in Kashmir under the Dogras which was called by the Hindus *Dharam Raj* (Rule of the Religion). Death was the penalty of cow-slaughter in the nineteenth century, although, the Islamic law allows cow-slaughter. Muslim Kashmiris did not indulge in cow-slaughter to offend the Hindu, or just for the fun of it. It so happened that if the cow of a villager fell ill, and become old, it was butchered so as to save the family from further loss. But the Dogra rulers did not bother so much about the humans as they did about the animals.

Aldous Huxley, a British writer, says that he was once going on the road in a car in Kashmir, when he saw a cow sleeping in the middle of the road. He blew the horn of the car but the animals did not care to move and make room for the car to pass. The writer says that at that time the idea struck him that the cow was aware of the fact that its life was more precious in Kashmir than to that of a human being. It knew that if it was killed, the killer would have to face death, but if a man (a Muslim to be more accurate) was killed, death was not the sentence for the killer.

It is said that the Maharajah (Pratap Singh) did not like to see the face of a Muslim in the morning upto noon. Muslims were treated as untouchables like the people whom M.K. Gandhi later on named as "Harijans" or "children of God". P.N. Bazaz had recorded that in the Jammu province the Rajputs and other tribes amongst the Hindus used to interrupt in the Muslim call for prayer (the *Azan*). If a non-Muslim accepted Islam his property used to be confiscated by the Dogra regime and this policy was adopted to stop the non-Muslim from accepting the Islamic faith.

There was no political freedom, nothing of the sort. None could hold a public meeting and discuss the affairs of the State. No political party could be formed.

There was no freedom of speech and press. In fact, the press did not exist. It was with great difficulty that Lala Mulk Raj Sarraf got permission to publish weekly *Ranbir*, named after the name of the father of the Maharajah, when permission was refused to him thrice.

MUSLIM OF JAMMU & KASHMIR LAGGED BEHIND IN EDUCATION

Muslim of Kashmir were backward in education partly due to their own carelessness and more because of the apathy of the non-Muslim Government towards the Muslims.

It was in year 1945, when one of the members of the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly, the Praja Sabha, had been appointed the Minister of Education, that the people of Sopore requested him to set up a college at this town. The Minister, whose name was Ganaga Ram, frankly told the Muslim deputationists that he was against education and this is why he did not favour the setting up a college at Sopore. Had any other Minister said so, that could have been understood, but it was the *Awami* (people's) minister of education, who was himself appointed in the dyarchy system and was one of the two "peoples" ministers. The other was the Minister of Public Works, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beg, of the National Conference of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah.

Ganga Ram said that more education meant more socialism and assured the deputationists from Sopore that he would oppose the formation of a College in this town as it would make students and the youth socialists and rebels.

This was said in the middle (1945) of the present century, when the subcontinent was on the threshhold of freedom. One can very easily appreciate what could have been the attitude of the Dogra rulers towards Muslim education in the past century.

In the year 1916. that is, eighty two years ago, in the State whose area was 84,471 square miles (about 2,20,000 sq. Kilometres) there were only 311 primary schools. That is to say for every 271 square miles of territory and for a population of 10677, there was one primary school. In the entire State, there were thirty seven middle schools. Thus, for every 2282 square miles of territory and for a population of 89743 persons, there was one middle school.

And it was the position of education of both the communities, Muslims as well as non-Muslims. As regards the Muslims, the condition was much worse. The Hindu teachers were more unsympathic towards their Muslim pupils. Most of the schools in the states had Hindu and not Muslim students. Muslims had their own *masjid* schools, but they least cared for imparting modern education to the students, which is very necessary from the worldly point of view. The apathy of Muslims of Kashmir towards education in the Kashmir Muslim community, was like that of the Muslims of the rest of India. In the sub-continent, Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan had to wage a crusade in favour of education and against illiteracy. Kashmir had also its own "Sir Sayeds" but their number was not so great. What is more, They did not receive much encouragement from the Kashmir Government which did not like the spread of modern education amongst the Muslims of Kashmir.

The number of Muslim teachers in Kashmir were quite few and far between. The Muslim League in British India and Punjab was not oblivious of the educational condition of its coreligionists in Kashmir. Most of the scholarships of Government about education were given to the Hindus and not to the Muslims. In 1922, 517 students from Jammu and Kashmir passed the matriculation examination of the University of the Punjab and out of them only forty two were Muslims. In the Intermediate examination there were ninety eight from Kashmir and out of them Muslims were fourteen and in eighty seven students who got Degrees of B.A., only seven were Muslims. Similar was the ratio of Muslims in F.Sc., and B.Sc.

In 1931-32, there were 9342 students in the High Schools, out of them Muslims were only 3663, although the population of the Muslims in the State was seventy eight per cent.

In winter, the Muslims of Kashmir, particularly, those in the rural areas, had to migrate in search of employment and livelihood to the plains, especially to the Punjab.

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, who rose to eminence as a result of the sacrifices of his Muslim community, draws a graphic picture of the migration of the Kashmir labourers to the plains of the Punjab, the menial and hard jobs which they had to under in the Punjab to earn something for themselves and for their families whom they had left behind.[39] During the months of the winter, there is nothing what a Kashmiri farmer can do in the fields, which are covered by a layer of snow. Nothing can grow in the Valley of Kashmir during the winter months. The best thing, therefore, was to move about to the plains and earn something. They used to spend their nights either in the *masjids* or in some sort of an inn. Whey they used to return home, with some cloth or other things, the customs authorities of the Dogra Government would try to fleece them and force them to surrender part of their earnings and pay the same to the officials of the unsympathetic Government, mostly manned by the non-Muslims.

Abdullah also mentions the special kind of the cart which used to be pulled by men in place of a bull. Tyndel Bisco, who did a lot in the field of education in Kashmir, says that "if the British nation had to face the oppression which the Kashmiris have had to face, it was likely that we would have lost our manliness."

This was the abject condition of the people of Jammu and Kashmir before the outbreak of the agitation which shook the entire State in 1931.

In Jammu, Srinagar, and Poonch, the *Anjuman-e Islamia*, the *Anjuman-e Nusratul Islam* and *Anjuman-e Islamia* had been set up in 1892, 1897 and in 1911 respectively for the amelioration of the educational lot of the people of the three towns.

These denominational institutions of the Muslims of Jammu, Kashmir and Poonch were set up to introduce literacy amongst Muslims on Islamic lines and they seem to have been influenced by the activities of Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan and also by the *Anjuman-e Himayat-e Islam* of Lahore. Maulana Rasul Shah, Mirwais of Kashmir, is known as "Sir Sayyed" of Kashmir for his contribution in the promotion of educational activity in Kashmir.

BRITISH INDIAN MUSLIMS CONCERNED

There was an All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference in British India which drew attention of the Maharajah of Kashmir towards the appalling illiteracy amongst the Muslims of Kashmir. In 1921, Allama Iqbal, with some noted Muslims, met the Maharajah of Kashmir in Lahore and tried to impress upon him the need of imparting education to his Muslims subjects, but the Maharajah did not show much interests in it.[40]

The Muhammadan Educational Conference once proposed to hold its meeting in Srinagar but the Maharajah did not allow that. In September, 1913, that is much earlier than Iqbal and others met the Maharajah in Lahore, a deputation of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference met the Maharajah in Srinagar. It was led by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan of the Educational Conference of the Indian Muslims. As many as ten demands of the Muslims, pertaining, one and all, to the subject of education, were presented to the Maharajah, but he turned a deaf ear to the supplications.

A list of the demands was also sent to the Maharajah from Lahore.

An *Anjuman-e Kashmiri Musalmanan-e Lahore* was set up by "former Kashmiris" in Lahore towards the end of the last century, to voice the various demands of the Kashmir (migrants) living the Punjab, Actually, the *Anjuman* was formed in February, 1896. Allama Iqbal, who was in Lahore as a student of the Islamia College, was also associated with this *Anjuman* as Secretary.

On the basis of these facts, some people have been claiming that Allama Iqbal was also the Secretary of the All-India Kashmir Committee, which is quite a different body, formed in the year 1931. Allama was of course associated with the All-India Kashmir Committee very closely, but he was never its Secretary, but was elected President in 1934, after which the All-India body ceased to exist. *The Anjuman-i-Kashmir Muslimanaan* was an association of the Kashmir living in Lahore. The *Anjuman* used to hold poetical symposia, or *mushairaas*, in which Iqbal recited some of his famous poems and couplets on Kashmir, which have become proverbial, but are not included in his books which were published much later.

After some time was formed an All-India Kashmir Muslim Conference. It was sponsored by the *Anjuman-e Kashmiri Muslamanan-e* Lahore. First General Secretary of the All India body was Allama Iqbal. The purpose of this new body was to try for the betterment of the lot of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, whether they were inside the State or our of it. The Kashmiri Muslims were, for instance, barred from purchasing (agricultural) land in British India, particularly in the Punjab, as they were dubbed as "non-agriculturist" by the locals, and for the same reason, they were debarred from recruitment in the Armed Forces of British India Allama Iqbal took up the case at the highest level and conveyed to the powers that be that "Kashmiri" was not a caste as such. He explained that "Punjabi" included all the people of Punjab, agriculturist and non-agriculturist and in the same manner Kashmiri meant every Kashmiri from the State, whether he was a tiller of the land or a non-agriculturist. The position of Kashmiris, who had migrated to Punjab in the last century' due to famine in Kashmir and the atrocities of the Sikhs and Dogras, had come as refugees to the plains, leaving their agricultural land behind in Kashmir. It was unjust to include them in the categories of non-agriculturists and *Kasibis* or *cummies* and deny them the right to purchase and own land or deny them recruitments not to deny entry to the Army to the Kashmiris and not to stand in their way if they wanted to purchase cultivable land.

The *Anjuman* also continued to press the Maharajah of Kashmir to accommodate the Muslims of Kashmir in government services and provide them facilities so that they get education in their own homeland. In January 1915, a deputation of the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference met the Maharajah in Lahore but all this fell flat on the unsympathetic Maharajah.

The lethargy and inaction of the Muslims of Kashmir living inside Kashmir and the callous attitude of the Kashmir Government could not deter the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference from the path it had chosen for bringing a silent revolution in Kashmir in the field of the education. The Government of India was also pressed in the matter and the Kashmir Government was forced to seek the services of Mr. Sharp, its Educational Secretary so that he could make recommendation for better educational facilities to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Mr. Sharp made some very sharp and to the point recommendations, but the recommendations were such that they were never allowed to see the light of day. Mr. Sharp's services were lent to Kashmir Government in October 1915. Mr. Sharp, as was later on known, had recommended that 1100 primary schools should be added to the 311 schools which were in existence when the Sharp Commission started its work. Mr. Sharp had also suggested that one hundred more Arabic teachers should be recruited in the State so that they could impart religious and Arabic education to the Muslims. At that time they were only eighty. In 1932 itself, when a number of Commissions had to be set up in the State to report about the demands of the Muslims of Kashmir, the number of "Arabic teachers" was only ninety seven.

In 1920, in its Lahore session, the Muslim Kashmiri Conference regretted that the Maharajah had not agreed to the requests of the Muslim Kashmiri Conference and the All India Muhammaden Educational Conference and the demands that they were handed over to the Ruler. It was also demanded that the Report of Mr. Sharp on Kashmir Education should be published, and it should be stated how far the recommendations of the Sharp Commission had been accepted and implemented. It was also demanded that a Special Muslim Inspector of schools should be appointed in the State and in every High School, either a Muslim teacher should be the Headmaster or the Second Master. In October 1923, it was decided that a deputation of the Conference would meet the Maharajah. It was also decided that in the month of September 1924, a session of the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference be held in Srinagar. The Kashmir Government responded to neither of the demands. On this, the daily *Zamindar* of Lahore, in its editorial on 3rd September 1924, pointed out that a group like the *Arya Samaj*, which spreads hatred between Muslims and non-Muslims, is allowed to hold its session in Srinagar, while a mere educational Association of the Muslims is not allowed to meet in Srinagar.

It was during those days, that Allama Iqbal visited Kashmir and during his visit to the valley, and after that, wrote soul-stirring poems about the past and the present, as well as the bright future of Kashmir. More on the subject will be discussed later on.

MUSLIM LEAGUE AND KASHMIR

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Kashmir in 1924. That was his first visit to the state. On his return, after some time, was held the meeting of the All India Muslim League in Lahore. In fact, it was the 15th annual session of the League, held on 25th May, 1924, under the chairmanship of Mr. Jinnah. From Srinagar, the President of the Anjuman-i-Taufiqul Islam, Srinagar drew the attention of the League towards the hardships and misfortunes faced by the Muslims of Kashmir. The Muslims League passed a resolution about Kashmir and described the policy and the attitude of the Maharajah towards the Muslims of Kashmir as unsympathetic and callous and urged the Kashmir Durbar to adopt a policy about the economic, political and educational position of the Kashmiri subjects, which should be in kniping with their aspirations.

The Muslim League was a party of British India, and its policy was non-interference on the internal affairs of the native states. But when the question of safety, national aspirations and demands of the Muslims was raised, the League expressed strong feeling in favour of the Muslims. At a later stage. even the All-India States Muslim League was formed to look after the demands and the aspirations of the people of the princely states where Muslims were in sizable majority. Anyway, this was the first resolution of the Muslim League held under the chairmanship of Mr. Jinnah. It was held as early as 1924, when there was practically no political awakening in the modern sense of the term in Jammu and Kashmir. Awakening of course there was, but the Muslims of Kashmir and Jammu could not form a political party or association, or hold public meeting, not to speak of publishing a newspaper. But the lava was preparing to burst and it could burst any moment.

CHAPTER III

THE SILK FACTORY INCIDENT

There is a Silk Factory, called locally Resham Khana, in the city of Srinagar. About five thousand Kashmiris were working as labourers in this factory. A corrupt Hindu officer was at the top of this factory. The Muslims filed complaints against this Hindu officer and an Inquiry Commission was appointed against him. The findings were not disclosed to the public.

It was rumoured that the authorities would introduce new machinery in the factory and most of the labour force would lose their jobs. Another Hindu was made the Deputy Director of the Factory. The labour protested against this new appointment and on 21st July, 21 leaders of the Muslim labourers were taken into custody. This was resented by the labourers. In the Hazuri Bagh, which was also called *Qawaid Maidan* (the parade ground where the Dogra army used to hold its parades and is now called Iqbal Park) one thousand labourers of the Silk Factory held a protest meeting. The Government could not tolerate that one thousand Muslims should hold even a peaceful meeting for the furtherance of their demands. The Dogra cavalry charged on the poor demonstrators and many of them were injured in the stampede that ensued. The crowd was also baton-charged and some of them were wounded by the horses of the cavalry.

It was given out that the Muslims had planned to revolt and install one of them as "King". In fact one of the rebel leaders was called "Keng" (Kashmiri pronunciation of Keng) by his fellows till he lived for many years after that. Even his son is called by the nick name "Keng" now, though seventy years have passed since this happened.

Protest meetings were held throughout Punjab against this brutal charge of the Dogra army on the poor Kashmiri labourers. To this day, the people of Kashmir, especially the labour class, remember that their ancestors had risen against oppression though Kashmir was at that time under the heel of feudal despotism.

This incident indicated that unrest was very much there and something was going to happen in the State. This agitation was economic. It was a rising against oppression and exploitation of human labour by the ruling clique.

THE MEMORANDUM

Kashmiri Muslims became impatient when they found that the pandits and other Hindus in the State were making progress by leaps and bounds in the field of education and other spheres and Muslims were neither here not there. The agitation of the Silk Factory had been crushed with a heavy hand. But the noted Kashmiris of Srinagar also showed signs of awakening and political consciousness.

It was in August 1924, that a Kashmiri pandit wrote in a Lahore newspaper, *Akhbar-e Aaam* that the place where the Khanqah-e Mualla of Shah Hamadan stood in Kashmir, Srinagar, had been a *mandir* of goddess *Kali* in the past. The suggestion was that the Hindu Maharajah should restore it to the Hindus as it was pointed out that the Muslims had during the Muslim rule of Kashmir erected the sanctuary of Sayyed Ali Hamadani at the *mandir* of *Maha Kali*, the "goddess of death and destruction" in the Hindu mythology.

Whatever may have been the history of the *mandir* of the goddess *Kali*, it is a fact that the place of worship of the Pandits near the Khanqah is very much there near it. Throughout. the five hundred years of Muslim rule, the Muslim Kings allowed Pandits to worship their goddess *Kali* at this place, on the side of the river Jhelum. A group of non-Muslims, after the above article appeared in the Lahore newspaper, had the courage to attack the Khanqah Mualla of Shah-e Hamadan in Srinagar and damaged a part of the building. When this news reached Lahore, the *Majlis-i-Khilafat* and the All-India Muslim Kashmiri Conference protested against it and demanded an impartial inquiry into the whole incident. After some days, a ban was imposed on the procession which *Shia* Muslims of Srinagar used to bring out on 10th of the Hijri month of Muharram. In fact, according to a report, the *Zuljanah* was carried away by the Dogra police from the processionists.

It was on October 14, 1924, that the Viceroy of India, Lord Reading came on a visit to Kashmir. The Muslim notables decided to present a memorandum to him about the abject condition of the Muslims in the political, economic field and in the sphere of poor representation of the State Muslims in the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

A memorandum was prepared. One of my friends. the late Mir Maqbool Khanyari, who was active in the freedom struggle afterwards and was the associate of Sheikh Abdullah for a long time, told me how difficult it was to write out and then type out the memorandum. He said that the "points" of the memorandum were drafted in Urdu by the leaders but thev had to be translated and then typed into English. An Indian Muslim lawyer, a Barrister-at-Law who was on trip in Kashmir, was engaged to write out the memorandum in legal and constitutional language. No Muslim, at least in the public, had a type-writer at that time. Mir Maqbool had the boatsmen of Srinagar as his *mureeds* or followers. He said that one of his boatmen *mureeds* told him that a European was staying in his house boat and he had a type-writer. The *Sahib*, said the boatman, had gone away for a day or so and his type-writer which was lying in the "house-boat" could be used in his absence. But the type-writer had to be taken to the Barrister. This was done by Mir Gilani, the Sajjadah Nasheen of Khanyar attributed to Hazarat Abdul Qadir Gailani, a great saint of Muslims himself. He put the type-writer in his double woollen *loi* (blanket) and in a small *shikara*, (small boat), the type-writer reached the Barrister and the memorandum was typed. After that, the type-writer was again placed in the house boat, wherefrom it was brought.

Those who signed the memorandum included Mirwaiaz Ahmadullah, Maulana Atiqullah, Maulana Ahmadullah Hamadani (Mirwaiz), Mufti Azam Maulvi Sharifuddin, Khwaja Hasan Shah Naqshbandi, Kh. Saaduddin Shaal, Sayyed Husain Shah Jalali and Haji Jafer Khan.

It was pointed out to the Governor General of India, who was also the representative of British Crown and Viceroy for the Native states, that though Muslims were in majority in the State, out of 476 gazetted officers, only 55 were Muslims and that the income of the entire state was paid to the non-Muslim Government servants as their salaries.[41]

The demands listed were:

That Muslims in Kashmir province (Kashmir and Jammu) were (and still are two different provinces) be given proprietary rights over their agricultural land (We have already mentioned that when Gulab Singh took over as Maharajah of Kashmir, he abolished the proprietary rights of the Kashmiri landowners.

The second demand was that the number of Muslims in the State council (the cabinet so to say) should be enhanced for the Kashmir province according to their population.

Kashmiri Muslims be given due representation in the services.

If qualified Kashmiri Muslims are not available for higher posts from Kashmir, Muslims from India should be employed on these jobs.

Corrupt Hindu officials are enjoying the protection of their coreligionist top-officers. A Commission be formed to weed out corruption from the administration.

Scholarship be awarded to Muslim students for further study.

Begar (forced and unpaid labour) should be abolished.

Lands in illegal possession on the non-Muslims should be returned to the Muslim owners.

A legislative assembly should be established and Muslims should get representation therein according to their population.

The cooperative movement should be enhanced.

Government contracts, which are given to non-Muslims and outsiders, should be reserved for the State-subjects and especially the Muslims should get their due share in them.

Places of worship and shrines of Muslims, which are in the possession of the Government, should be returned to the Muslims. The cess, which is obtained with the land revenue from Muslim peasants for the upkeep and maintenance of the Jami-e Masjid, half of it should be spent on the Jami-e Masjid and the rest should be spent on the repairs of other masjids.

The remaining half should be spent on the educational facilities of Muslim students and a Board of the Muslim should be set up for this purpose.

A commission may be appointed to make inquiry into the recent incidents at the Khanqah of Shah-i-Hamadan and the *procession of Zuljanah* which was disturbed by the police.

The fourteenth and the last demand was that the

Resident of the British crown in Kashmir should be made as powerful as he used to be years earlier.

The last point refers to the time when the Maharajah of Kashmir had been made helpless by the appointment of the Regency Council and most of his powers, even after the undoing of the Regency Council, had been curtailed. This clause seems to have been inserted by the signatories of the memorandum to win the favour of the British Viceroy.

But Lord Reading, only did the reading of it, and handed over the memorandum to the Maharajah, who entrusted it to a Commission, comprising the Minister of Revenue, Colonel Janak Singh, the Governor of Kashmir province, Chaudhry Khushi Muhammad Naazir, and the member of the Kashmir Council for Finance, Mr. Glancy. The Commission reported that the list of the grievances of the Muslims was unbased. Most of the Signatories regretted having signed the memorandum. Some of them were exiled. Khwajah Saaduddin Shaal was exiled to the Punjab. The *jagir* of Khwajah Hasan Shah Naqshbandi was confiscated. His son Khwajah Noor Shah was removed from the post of *tehsildar* and Hasan Shah Jalali was removed from the office of *Zaildar*. Name of Mirwaiz Ahmadullah, the ancestor of Mirwaiz Umar Farooq (Chairman of the all parties Hurriet Conference), was dropped from the list of those who attended the *durbar* of His Highness the Maharajah. The other Mirwaiz and other signatories were let off with a warning. "This was how the Dogra regime tried to crush the voice of its Muslim subjects, but the voice could not be silenced for good. The fire of freedom continued to burn in the hearts of the Muslims of Kashmir and the Muslims of the subcontinent continued to extend their sincere support to the enslaved co-religionists in Kashmir. What the Kashmiris lacked was dauntless and able leadership.

During this period, several occasions came when the British rulers could have intervened in Kashmir and put end to the despotic rule of the Dogra autocrat. But that was not done, because when the British received complaints of the contacts of the Maharajah of Kashmir with the Czar of Russia, and the same appeared in the press, the Hindu newspapers of India raised a storm against the British and started defending the Maharajah for the simple reason that he was a Hindu.[42] The British Government thus did not interfere as they should have done and allowed the Dogra ruler to misrule Kashmir. Had the British taken over Kashmir from the Dogras, says Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, the Kashmiris would have been spared much misery and many hardships that they had to endure during the Dogra rule. "Several problems that have confronted the Kashmiris, in the past hundred years (Pandit Bazaz wrote this book in 1954), would not have cropped up at all. And the present accession issue would not have been there. Besides, under the British administration, the Kashmiris would have imbibed modernism quite rapidly. Modernism did some good to the Valley during the Dogra rule, but is was not because the Dogras wanted the Kashmiris modern in outlook, in education and culture but in spite of them. As a matter of fact they have worked as a brake on the progress of the people of Kashmir. For their own reasons the British bemoaned the step they took in handing over the Valley to the Dogras. They even utilised dubious methods to get it back. But then it was too late.

When it was found, or alleged, that Pratap Singh was communicating with the Czar of Russia, it was the right time to intervene in Kashmir. Intervene the British did, but they relied on the two brothers of the Maharajah and made Pratap Singh ineffective as the ruler. They did not proceed further. Pandit Bazaz observes in his *History of Struggle for Freedom* as follows.

"Political India[43] in the eighties of the last century was the champion of the rights of the native princes. It was considered a patriotic duty by the leaders and the nationalist press to protect the princes against the onslaughts of the foreign Government. Irrational patriotism considered native rule, however corrupt, absolutist, despotic and cruel as preferable to the domination by the British. Besides, the Maharajah being a Hindu and the ruler of the holy land of Kashmir, became an additional reason for the Indian leaders to see that he was not deposed.

A storm was raised over the imbroglio in which the voice of the *Amritbazar Patrika* of Calcutta was the loudest. The Viceroy was very much perturbed and annoyed to read the document in the press. The storm raised by nationalist India over Kashmir had upset the apple cart of the British. They, therefore, abandoned the idea of deposing the Maharajah and instead forced him to accept a council of Regency already mentioned. Looking back at the events after a lapse of seventy years, one cannot refrain from observing that this time the decision of the British was most unfortunate for the people of Kashmir. Had the British boldly stuck to their resolve, no matter with what purpose, deposed the Maharajah and installed their own administration, it would have speedily introduced modernism in the Valley."[42]

Most of the events are those which took place during the lengthy rule of Maharajah Pratap Singh, who ascended the throne or the *gaddi* in 1885 after the death of his father Ranbir Singh, and passed away in September, 1925. He died issueless. His nephew, Hari Singh, had been designated as the new Maharaja. He was the son of Amarsingh, the brother of Pratap. Hari Singh was installed as the Maharajah in March 1926, with great and right royal pomp and show. Hari was born in 1855 A.C. He was taught by British teachers and in 1908, he joined the Mayo College of Ajmer. After that he got military education in the Imperial Cadet College. In 1915, at the age of 20, he was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the State Army, and in 1922, he was appointed a member of the State Council. He was blackmailed in London by a certain Robinson. with whose wife Hari Singh had developed illicit sex relations. At that time he was known as Mr. "A" in the British Press in the scandal stories.

ENTER HARI SINGH

When Hari Singh took over as the Maharajah. in 1926. he declared that from religious point of view, he was of course a Hindu, but as ruler his religion was *Justice* (*Insaf*). The Urdu or Arabic equivalent of *Justice* was *Insaf*, the word he used in his vernacular address.

Muslims had great hopes that the Maharajah would translate his promises and policy into deeds. As a matter of fact, for the earlier years of his rulership, Hari Singh undertook certain steps which indicated that he could prove a just ruler. It was also thought that Hari Singh had imbibed the western ideas of democracy and rule of law while in European countries. But in due course of time, Hari Singh also came under the influences of those advisors and upper classes of his own who had spoiled his predecessors and converted the system of government into an oligarchy.

During his early years, Hari Singh promulgated the State Subject Act, of April 1927, which forbade selling of land and other immovable property in the State to outsiders. The term "outsider" stood for all those people who, or whose ancestors did not belong to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The first, second and third class state subjects were clearly defined and this law still prevalent in both the parts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

But Hari soon exposed himself as an enemy of the Muslims of the Valley of Kashmir. The Maharajah had forbidden the recruitment of the Muslim people of the Kashmiri speaking Valley, in the armed forces of the State. This has been noted by Mr. Wakefield, the Chief

Minister, in his memories. Wakefield had under him the Department of Defence. He says in his memoirs that he once asked the Maharajah why Kashmiris of the Valley were debarred from entry into the Army official circles. He says that Hari Singh related to him a story which he said was current in official circles from the time of his grand father. The story is that Hari's grandfather, Ranbir Singh raised a regiment of Kashmiris. They were given military training for six months in Srinagar after that they were asked to go to Jammu. A deputation of the officers of this regiment met the Maharajah informing him that all arrangements of the journey had been made except one. When Ranbir asked what was left. The officers said that there was no arrangement of the police guard for their defense."

Wakefield did not stress as minister on the recruitment of Kashmiris in the army. But very soon the agitation broke out in the Valley. Wakefield has noted that all the Kashmiris who were killed in the agitation were injured in their chests, as they had received the bullets in their chests. Which meant that they had not run away from the bullets of the Dogra police and army. At the present time, the handful of Kashmir mujahideen have brought the mighty army of India to its knees in the Valley of Kashmir.

It is well know that Kashmiris were never cowards. Allama Iqbal has paid great tribute to their bravery in the *Javed Namah*. At the time of coronation of Hari Singh, the Kashmiri Muslims from the whole State were thirty three per cent in the State army, but by 1947, they were only fifteen per cent. That is to say, slowly but steadily their representation in the army had been reduced as a matter of policy. Muslims, particularly of the Valley, were not trusted by the Dogra ruler.

SIR ALBION BANNERJEE'S PLAIN-SPEAKING

One of the Prime Ministers of Maharajah Hari

Singh was Sir Albion Bannerjee. He was with the Dogra regime for two years, but resigned from the post. On reaching Lahore, in an observation he told the Associated Press, something which is of lasting value in the history of the struggle for freedom in Jammu and Kashmir. Said he, on 15th March, 1929, A.C.[44]

"Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages with a large Muhmmedan population absolutely illiterate, labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically driven like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity for representing grievances and the administrative machinery itself requires overhauling from top to bottom to bring it upto the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the people's wants and grievances.

"There is hardly any public opinion in the State. As regards the press, it is practically non-existent with the result that the Government is not benefited to the extent that it should be by the impact of healthy criticism."

Sir Ablion had advised the Maharajah to do something for raising the standard of living of Kashmir, but he did nothing of the sort.

During the previous Maharajah's rule central secretariat of the State used to be in Jammu in winter and in Srinagar in the summer. But when Hari Singh, the modern educated prince, became the ruler, the offices were more or less kept permanently in Jammu. This was a great disadvantage to the Government servants who belonged to the Valley of Kashmir whose homes were in the Valley of Kashmir. It was not possible for them to live permanently in Jammu for their jobs, in hired houses. The result was that many of them had to abandon their jobs, which were filled by the Dogras from Jammu. This adversely affected the economy, trade and commerce of Kashmir.

It was clear from the attitude of the Maharajah that despite his modern education and his declaration when he was crowned as the Maharajah that he was prejudiced against the people of the Valley. Says Pandit Bazaz, the Kashmiri Pandit, who, in his own way, was a patriot to every inch"

"The notorious and infamous case of class prejudice was the one in which all non-Rajputs in the State were shamefully deprived of the right which was bestowed upon the Rajput by an order of the Maharajah. While consolidating the Arms Act in 1940, Hari Singh's Government disarmed the whole nation but allowed the Hindu Rajputs, the members of his own community, to possess, one fire-arm with sufficient ammunition for each family, for purposes of religious rituals and worship. Even the most dull-headed man could see that religion was but a cover to arm the protorean guards in the state against the rising tide of popular movement for the achievement of freedom. Appeals were made to Maharajah by the nationalist leaders of Kashmir to abrogate the law, but to no purpose."[45]

ATTEMPT TO CONTRADICT BANNERJEE

The Maharajah and his Government were extremely perturbed to read the statement of Bannerjee from Lahore, as it appeared in many newspapers of India as well as in England. A campaign was thus started to contradict what had been said by the great sympathizer of the people of Kashmir. Some pro-government officers were sent to Jammu to contact the leaders of the *Anjuman-e Islamia*, an educational body of the Muslims of Jammu, who were urged to refute the statement of the former Chief Minister of Kashmir. Some of the *Anjuman-e* leaders are said to have agreed to sign a joint statement in this respect, to support the official view, but when more people came to know about the sordid game, the people of Jammu, in a meeting, warned the *Anjuman* leaders not to sign the contradiction. In fact, the people expressed no-confidence in the leaders of the *Anjuman* and better counsel prevailed on the leaders and they had to refuse to sign the joint statement. Then a small meeting of a few individuals was held at the residence of the General (r) Samandar Khan, the uncle of Air Marshal (r) Asgher Khan, where the statement of Bannerjee was "contradicted".

Agha Sayyed Husain was sent to Srinagar to contact Mirwaiz Ahmadullah with the suggestion that he should sign the statement against Albion Bannerjee, but Mirwaiz simply refused to sign the contradiction.

The Muslims press of the Punjab wrote editorials and articles on the statement of Sir Albion Bannerjee and urged the Kashmir Government to treat the Muslims of Kashmir justly and benevolently, as had been suggested by the author of the statement. The All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference, in its meeting on 28th April, 1929, urged the Kashmir Government to abandon its cruel policy about the Kashmiri Muslims. In fact, the Kashmir regime was warned to redress the grievances of the Muslims of Kashmir, failing which, it was said in the resolution, a strong agitation would be started against the Kashmir Government. Feeling the pulse of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir and the Punjab, even the President and the general secretary of *Anjuman-e Islamia of Jammu*, General Samandar Khan (r) and Sheikh Abdul Aziz, demanded that the Government should introduce reforms in the administration. Agha Sayed Husein was promised by the Maharajah that the Muslims would get fifty per cent of the jobs in the State, but the promise was never kept. Sir Albion's disclosure about the condition of Kashmir of his times has been described by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in his *Autash-i-Chinar* (lit. "Fire of the Plane tree") as the first spark in the gun-powder store of Kashmir. He writes on page 42 of his book that he was a student of M.Sc. in Aligarh when he read the statement of the Minister of Kashmir who had resigned and stated what he had to say about the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the press. The statement had appeared in the English language press of the country. This resulted in an earthquake in the State and the sycophants of the regime tried to contradict the statement of Bannerjee. These sycophants, all Muslims, said in their statement that the Muslims of Kashmir were satisfied with the Government of the Maharajah. Sheikh Abdullah says that he lost patience on reading the contradiction of Bannerjee's statement by the time-servers of Jammu and Kashmir and that he immediately sent a letter to the Editor of the *Muslim Outlook*, Lahore, in which he supported what Bannerjee had said and refuted the joint statement of the flatterers of the Maharajah. Abdullah says that when his letter appeared in the *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore, he was jubilant. It was as if a suppressed shriek had come out of his throat. This, says the Sheikh, was the first step in the political field as far as he was concerned and he felt himself was getting ready for action in the field of public service and politics.[46]

A Civil Service Recruitment Board, a sort of Public Service Commission, had been set up in those days and Muslims were expected to submit applications for Government service. Abdullah also applied, but there was no result. All the members of the Board and the examiners were non-Muslims with least sympathy for the Muslims of Kashmir. In these examinations, Hindu and Sanskrit were optional subjects but Urdu, Persian and Arabic had been altogether ignored. Sixty per cent of the jobs could be filled by the Government without reference to the Board and for the remaining forty per cent, the condition was that the candidates must produce a certificate of "good family background". Under the pretext of this condition, application of each and every Muslims candidates could have been and actually was rejected.

The educated Kashmiri youths had formed a Reading Room apparently to read newspapers and periodicals together, but in actual practice, it was a garb under which they hold political discussions. The President of the Reading Room Committee was Mr. Muhammad Rajah, who later on joined police service and Sheikh Abdullah was the General Secretary. Other members were Hakim Ghulam, Ali, Peizada Ghulam Rosool, *Prized* Hammed Shah Fazili, Hakim Gulam Murtaza and Mufti Jalaluddin. The Reading room had been set up in Fatch Kadal locality of Srinagar in the house of Mufti Jalaluddin.

Contact was established with the press of the Punjab because in Kashmir there was no press at all. The editor of the London journal called *Indian States*, Ranjit Palme Dutt, was also contacted and he projected the position of the native state, Kashmir, in the journal. Abdullah says that Maulana Azad Subhani, the *Khateeb* of the Jamia Masjid of Calcutta, also visited the Reading Room of Srinagar during those days and he advised the Kashmiri youths to start a peoples movement for pressing their demands and when the Government came to know of it, a search was started to trace him but he had already left the State.

The main demand of the educated Muslims of Kashmir in those days was employment in the Government. Sheikh Abdullah persuaded his friends that a memorandum should be sent to the Council of Ministers, demanding due share for the Muslims of Kashmir in the Government jobs. The youths went to Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, who had been deprived of his post of Assistant Inspector of Schools on frivolous charges, and he prepared the memorandum, which was sent to Mr. Wakefield, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in the absence of the Maharajah, who was away in Europe. Soon a letter was received by Abdullah, informing him of the receipt of the memorandum and also asking him to come to a meeting, along with one of his colleagues. A meeting was immediately held at the house of Ghulam Ahmad Ashai and it was decided that Abdullah and Abdul Aziz Fazli, who had returned from Aligarh after passing his Law examination, should go to meet the Chairman and the members of the ministerial Council. Before this two man delegation met the Ministers, a delegation of loyalist Muslims also met the ministers. The meeting of the two leaders with the Council was a success. When the news of the meeting of the two Kashmiris reached Jammu, the leaders of the Jammu Muslims contacted the leaders of Srinagar. To establish the contact, Mr. Abdul Majeed Qarshi was sent to Srinagar.[47]

Contact was also established with the Muslim press of the Punjab and the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference. The daily *Inquilab* of Maulana Abdul Majid Salik, and some other newspapers of Lahore used to publish material which was being sent by the Kashmiris from Jammu and Srinagar regularly to them. It was mostly about the lack of representation of Kashmiris in the Government services of Jammu and Kashmir, details of Muslim and non-Muslim hands in every department of the Government appeared in the Punjab press. The authorities of Jammu and Kashmir banned their entry into the State, but instantly in their place, new ones would appear.

It was the time when British India itself was passing through, a turmoil. On 31st December, 1930 the All India Congress Committee, the main body of the Indian National Congress, passed the resolution of independence of India. The Simon Commission had failed to evoke any interest in the masses and the British Government called a Round Table Conference in London to find ways and means to solve the political problem of India. Maharajah Hari Singh, being the ruler of the largest native state (in area) was also invited to it. Before his departure to the United Kingdom, he formed the Council of Ministers under Mr. Wakefield and comprising P.K. Wattal and General Janak Singh, with Thakur Karatar Singh, as the Secretary. The first two were non state subjects and the other two were Dogras of the clan of the Maharajah himself. None of the four was a Muslim. This fully exposed the claim of the Maharajah that Justice and Fairplay were his political creed.

The Youngman's Muslim Association of Jammu was actively working for the realization of the demands of the Muslims of the State and on 19th September 1930, it held a public meeting at *Talaba-e Khateekan* of Jammu and demanded due representation in Government services for the Muslims of the State. It was also demanded that the ban imposed on Lahore Muslims newspapers in the State should be lifted.

When the Maharaja was about to return from Europe, the notables of Srinagar decided that he should be accorded a reception. But the two communities could not agree as to who would present the welcome address. The two-nation theory, which divided British India into two independent countries after seventeen years, was very much there, inherent in Kashmir. It was ultimately decided that Muslims would organize their own reception for the ruler and the non-Muslims would receive him separately. When the Maharaja came to know of this rift, he decided not to join either. Later on, the Municipal Committee of Srinagar organized a reception for the ruler.

The Maharaja was unaware of the rising wave of resentment against his administration amongst the Muslims. He had lost all contact with the masses. In fact, he never had any contact with the people of the State, especially the Muslims. Despite his western education, he eared a hoot for these sentiments of the people.

The spark to the gunpowder was provided by the unimaginative and callous officials of the Maharajah's Government itself.

It was the Eidul Azha, the festival of sacrifice, reminding the Muslims of the day when Hazarat Ibrahim (patriarch Abraham) under the Command of Allah Almighty, decided to sacrifice his own son in the way of God. On 29 April, 1931, Mufti Muhammad Ishaq, was delivering the Eid sermon, which is part of the Eid prayer, in Shalamar Bagh of Jammu. He was mentioning Pharaoh (*Firaun*) and Prophet Moses, as well as King Nimrod and Prophet Ibrahim. A Hindu sub-Inspector of police, Lalah Khem Chand approached the Imam and asked him to stop his speech as he had led the prayers already. The Imam told him that his speech, or the *Khutba*, was part of the prayer and he was bound to finish the *Khutba* after completing it. But the police official insisted that he must stop his speech. The result was that there was great resentment in Jammu over this and on the same day, the Muslim Youngmen's Association held a meeting of protest without the permission of the authorities in the Jamia Masjid, under chairmanship of Mistri Husein Bakhsh. Sardar Gauhar Rehman and Sheikh Abdul Hamid Advocate severely criticized the police official for interference in Eid *Khutba*. It was demanded that the Government should punish the police officials for his rude behaviour and his interference in the religious function of the Muslims.

And during the same period, incidents of sacrilege of the Holy Quran took place in the Jammu areas one after the other. This was something which Muslims could never tolerate. A Hindu Head constable of police threw the copy of five chapters of the Holy Quran, called Panjsoorah, which a Muslim constable was reading, on the ground. On June, 1931, a meeting of the Muslims was held at *Talaba-e Khateekan* Masjid of Jammu, where Chaudhry Gulam Abbas warned the Kashmir Government that it was playing with fire. He said that Muslims would continue to put forth demands and if doing so was a crime, he was the first rebel.[48]

CHAPTER IV

FREEDOM MOVEMENT STARTS IN KASHMIR

On 9th June, a deputation of Jammu Muslims, led by Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, met the Prime Minister, Mr. Wakefield and apprised him of the demands of the Muslims. It is to be noted that from the very beginning the young leaders represented the entire Muslim community of Jammu and Kashmir, as they considered and would always consider themselves as part and parole of one great *Ummah*.

The news of the desecration of the Holy Quran reached the Valley of Kashmir also and the Muslim youngmen there pasted posters on the walls of Srinagar about the Jammu incidents. One of the Muslim youths, Muhammad Ismail, was arrested by the police for pasting the posters on the walls of the shops and houses of Srinagar. His arrest spread great indignation in the city and Sheikh Abdullah made an announcement that a meeting of protest would be held in the Jamia Masjid in the evening. It was 8th June 1931, when about thirty thousand Muslims of Srinagar joined the public meeting at the Jamia Masjid. "Master Abdullah" was known to the people by name only, but now they saw him with their own eyes, and he, after reciting the Holy Quran made a soul stirring speech, which made the people sentimental. Some of them wept bitterly when the oppression by the Government was explained to them. The people, filled with fresh hope, left for their respective localities, shouting slogans of *Islam zindabad*, at the end of the public meeting.

Holding of meetings, public and private, became a regular feature of life. For holding the meeting in the Jamia Masjid, the help of Mirwaiz-e Kashmir, Muhammad Yusuf Shah was sought and he readily offered it because he himself was a well-wisher of the Muslims of Kashmir and could not remain behind. On 21st June, 1931 a large meeting was held in the Khanqahi Mualla, or the shrine of Mir Sayyed Ali Hamadani, *alias* Shah Hamadan, who is known as the founder and chief introducer of the Islamic faith in Kashmir. Seven representatives were elected by the meeting to meet the Maharaja so that the demands of the people of Jammu and Kashmir could be presented to him.

These seven representatives were Khawajah Saaduddin Shaal, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Mirwaiz Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Shah, Mirwaiz Maulana Ahmadullah Hamadani, Agha Sayyed Husein Shah Jalali, Khwajah Ghulam Ahmad Ashai and Munshi Shahbuddin.

When the Public meeting was over, a stranger (later on it was known that he was named Abdul Qadeer) came to the stage and made a fiery speech, exhorting the Muslims to join hands and abandon submitting applications and making supplications. Pointing towards the Maharja's palace, he said "Raze it to the Ground". He said that the best method to achieve freedom was to fight and wage *jehad*.[49]

Sheikh Abdullah states that Abdul Qadeer had been coming to the Hazratbal shrine for prayers and there too he used to speak now and then. He once met Abdullah in the Jamia Masjid and said that he was very much sympathetic to the Muslims of Kashmir. He was a Pathan but belonged to Amroha, U.P. His speech came as a great support to the Muslims of Kashmir and as bolt from the blue to the Kashmir Government. His speech at Khanqah-e Mualla was considered highly objectionable and seditious by the authorities and a case of sedition was registered against him. The case was registered four days after the speech was actually made, that is, on 25th June, 1931.

Sheikh Abudullah had accepted the post of a teacher in the Government High School, Srinagar, but when he started making speeches and indulged in political activities, he was transferred to Muzaffarabad, the present capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. It was a subdivisional headquarter in 1931, which it continued to be till 1947, when its total population was four thousand. In 1931, its population must have two to three thousand souls in all. And the position of this area was such that if the Dogra Government wanted to punish any one of its officials, he was transferred to Muzaffarabad. It was something like "sending to Coventry". Abdullah refused to receive the order of transfer and when the Director of Education, a Britisher, asked him why he was not receiving the transfer order, Abdullah explained to him that he could not sell himself while his community was suffering at the hands of a callous and cruel administration. Ultimately, Abdullah tendered his resignation from the post of teacher. He was an M.Sc. and had been appointed a teacher on a pay of fifty rupees per month. But instead of accepting his resignation, the Government dismissed him from the post.

The Hindu press of Punjab spread lies and made fabrications against the Muslims of Kashmir who were trying to meet the Maharaja and explain to him their demands. The Hindu press alleged that the Maharaja was going to submit to the Muslim demands, on which he issued a proclamation on 9th July, 1931, which was his "statement of policy." He said that the Muslims in Kashmir were happy and living in peace and that only Muslims from outside were inciting the local Muslims against the administration. He alleged that Muslims outside that State were raising the slogan of "Islam is in Danger in Kashmir" which, according to him, was not the case. He said that he was not interfering in the affairs of the Punjab, so why should Punjab and other parts of British India interfere in his affairs.

Qadeer's trial started on 6th July, in the court of the Sessions Judge Pandit Krishen Lal Kitehloo, in the open court. But the Kashmiri Muslims used to throng to the court to know the progress of the case. This continued till 9th, but when many people used to come to the court the authorities got alarmed and decided to try him in the Central jail of Srinagar and 13th July was fixed as the date of hearing. On 12th July, Sheikh Abdullah addressed a meeting at Gaokadal and urged the people not to go to the Central Jail. But next day, early in the morning, some eight thousand Kashmiri Muslims assembled near the jail and demanded that the accused should be tried in an open court and not inside the jail. Some Muslims entered the court premises, which actually was the jail, but the counsels of Abdul Qadeer prevailed upon them and he asked them to go out of the jail. When the District Magistrate, who was also the Governor of the Kashmir Province, came, he ordered that the Muslims who were in the jail premises, should be arrested. Forty eight persons were arrested, according to the Associated Press of India. One of the Muslims started giving the call for prayer as it was time for midday prayers, after climbing the wall of the jail. He was fired upon by the police under orders of the District Magistrate.

The order of firing was issued by the District Magistrate without warning the crowd. Twenty one Muslims were martyred on spot and some of them, who were badly injured, died later on. When one of the critically injured was on the point of the death, he told Abdullah. "We have done our duty, Now you have to perform yours." There was no medical aid available and some of the critically injured died due to excessive bleeding.

Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas has rightly written in his autobiography.[50] "Had not this day been in the

Calendar, the political history of the Kashmir State, which is being written from 1931 till date, would have been different."

And Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz says:

"Historically and politically, the 13th July, 1931, is the most important day in the annals of contemporary Kashmir. From this day, the struggle of independence and freedom in the most modern sense started openly. Doubtless in 1931, the struggle was aggressively communal outwardly, but those who had not kept their eyes shut, could see that it was in escence the struggle of a victimised and enslaved people against the despotic rule..."

The incident of the 13th July shook the whole State, including the administration, it unnerved the Maharaja. An Official Commission under the presidentship of Sir Barjore Dalla, the Chief Justice, was set up to enquire into the causes of the happenings. The enquiry was boycotted by the Muslims.

Immediately, after the incident, six leaders of Jammu and Kashmir, three from the Valley, Sheikh Abdullah, Maulvi Abdur Raheem and Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and three from Jammu, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, Allah Rakha Saghar, and Mistri Yaqub Ali, were arrested and sent to Srinagar Central Jail.

As regards the martyrs, they were buried at the *ziarat* or the shrine of Hazrat Naqshband Sahib, two in each grave and the clothes they were wearing were their shrouds. This was on the advice of Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Shah, Mirwaiz, who decreed that martyrs do not need to be given the last bath, nor do they need a shrowd except the clothes they happened to wear the time of *Shahadat* (martyrdom).

Abdullah emerged as the hero of the time. He got name, fame and later on political power because of the sacrifices of the poor afflicted Muslims of Kashmir. He was at that time the uncrowned king of the Kashmiris.

He was more than a political and national hero. Credulous Kashmiri men and women even thought that just one blessing from him, or just a breath, could cure their physical diseases. Such hero-worship misled Abdullah and he betrayed the Kashmiris and did to them the damage which no other person could do.

The movement of Kashmir was born in the name of Islamic religion. It was not only an economic struggle. The religious sentiment and the motivation was there. Abdullah himself believed, in the beginning, that it was so, but later on, when he became power-hungry, he started, talking sometimes, like a socialist, sometimes, like a "secularist". He was neither this nor that.

The upsurge in Jammu and Kashmir, which was initiated on 13th July, 1931, spread like wild fire. There were more killings, more arrests in the length and breadth of the State. One Commission after the other was appointed by the Government, under public pressure. One of the Reforms Commissions was headed by Sir Bettrand J. Glancy.

Brutal methods had been adopted to crush the freedom struggle of the Muslims. The army was spread in the whole city and on seeing the army Muslims were supposed to stand up and say "*Jai*" (Victory) to the Maharaja and the Dogra army. Even the Jamia Masjid was surrounded by the troops. Outer walls of the Masjid still bear marks of the bullets. Hundreds of people were arrested on one pretext or the other. Punitive taxes and fines were imposed on the people. After the incident of 13th July, traffic between Srinagar and Jammu was closed upto 26th July and in Srinagar, there was *hartal* (strike) for nineteen days, continuously.

REMOVAL OF PRIME MINISTER WAKEFIELD

Mr. Wakefield was removed from Prime Ministership by the Maharajah and in his place, a bigot, Hari Kishen Kaul, was appointed, first as "Minister-in waiting" and then as Prime Minister. Hari Kishen Kaul tried to sow seeds of disunity amongst the Muslim and succeeded to some extent in that nefarious game. On his appointment, Hari Kishen Kaul issued a warning to the Muslims to "behave", otherwise strong action could be taken against them. But this threat went unheeded. Kashmiris continued their struggle undeterred. Even, the Muslim women of Srinagar came out in processions and raised slogans against the corrupt administration and in favour of the martyrs and the freedom struggle. Apart from slogans in favour of Islam, which used to be the basic and fundamental slogans, and the slogan of *Takbeer* (*Allaho Akbar*, which means that Allah is the Greatest) there used to be slogans loinising the leaders of the agitation. Abdullah was called *Sher-e Kashmir* or the Lion of Kashmir. One could wish he had done justice to this title and proved equal to the task. The way he behaved just after seven or eight years of the start of the movement and later on his submission to India and his betrayal of the Kashmiri Muslims proved that he was a renegade. After his death, his grave is being protected in Srinagar by the Hindu military because the fear is that the Kashmiris may dig his grave and drag his bodily remains in the streets or Srinagar, as the idols of the temples were dragged in Srinagar in the days of Harsha Wardhana, the king of Kashmir in the 12th century of the Christian Era.

The unprecedented agitation brought in its wake elementary freedoms to the people of Jammu and Kashmir which they had been denied for about a century.

FORMATION OF FIRST MUSLIMS PARTY IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

In October 1932, was formed the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Political Conference, whose President was Sheikh Abdullah from Kashmir and the General

Secretary was Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas from Jammu.

Formation of the Muslim Conference was the much-coveted desire of the Muslims of Kashmir, which was accomplished after a great struggle and after many a sacrifice of the Muslims of the State. And it must be said that the Muslims of British India particularly those of the Punjab, spared no sacrifice to highlight the struggle of the people of Kashmir and give moral and material support to the Kashmiris. In this connection, the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference was very active and on 8th June, 1931, much before this incident of July 13, a Committee of eighteen members, including Allama Iqbal, had been set up to devise ways and means to support the Kashmiri people, who were protesting against the incident of desecration of the Holy Quran in different parts of the State.

ALL INDIA KASHMIR COMMITTEE

There was a great wave of sympathy in entire Punjab for the Muslims of Kashmir when killings took place in Srinagar and other parts of the State. At this stage, the Chief of the Ahmadiya (Qadiani) sect, suggested in the press that a broad based and All-India level Committee on Kashmir should be formed to chalk out a detailed and positive programme for the support of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Thus, it was on 25th July, twelve days after this incident of the 13th of July, 1931, in the *Kothhi* of Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan of Malir Kotla, in the town of Simla, a meeting of noted Muslim leaders of India was called. The invitation for the meeting were issued by Professor Ilmuddin Salik. Those who attended the meeting, also included Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud, Khwajah Hasan Nazami, Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Ibrahim Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Rahim Baksh, Maulana Muhammad Ismail Ghaznavi and Maulana Sayyed Habib. The Frontier province was represented by

Sahibzada Abdul Latif, brother of Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan, while Jammu and Kashmir was represented by Maulana Syed Mirak Shah Andrabi and Mr. Allah Rakha Saghar. Mirza Bashiruddin was appointed the chief of the All India Kashmir Committee[51] and Abdur Rahim Dard the Secretary. Prof. Sarwar Abbasi says that the reason of elevation of the leader of this particular sect to the post of President of the Committee was the belief that the Qadianis had special relationship with the Britishers and this election would prove helpful for the projection of the case of Kashmir. The decisions taken at this committee included the following.[52]

1. More representatives from the provinces of India should be invited to join the Committee.
2. 14th August should be observed in entire British India as Kashmir day.
3. The British Government should be pressed to give those elementary rights to the people of Kashmir which they were denied.
4. The British Parliament should be urged to explain the Treaty of Amritsar, dated 16th March 1846, in such a manner that the people of Kashmir get back the right of proprietorship on their lands in the State. (It may be noted that Gulab Singh had assumed proprietary rights over the land of Kashmir and all the landowners were thencefrom considered his tenants.)
5. The Viceroy of India and the Political Department of the Government of India should be apprised of the actual position in Kashmir and an effort should be made to meet the Maharaja and explain the Muslim point of view to him also.
6. If efforts could not produce any desired result for a period of two months, a broad-based and large scale Kashmir Conference be held in Sialkot on 3rd and 4th October to chalk out an effective

programme for the restoration of the rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

The chief of the Committee met Lord Wellingdon, the Viceroy of India, on 1st August and urged him to take steps to ensure the safety of the people of Kashmir. The Viceroy who was newcomer, assured him that the matter would be considered within five or six months.

The All India Muslim Conference, which was a representative organization of the Muslims of India, recognized the All India Kashmir Committee as its "branch" and more and more notables from all the parts of British India joined the Committee and they included men like Maulana Abdul Majid Salik, Sayed Mohammad Ismail Ghaznavi, Sayed Abdul Hamid Zafar of Bengal (later on known as Abdul Hamid Bhashani). On 14th August, 1931, as had been planned, was observed as a "Kashmir Day" throughout India. The mammoth public meeting on this day in Lahore was addressed by Allama Iqbal. Allama Sahib said that many people in the Punjab were unaware of the facts of the Kashmir situation and some were led to believe that it was Hindu-Muslim clash. He said, that was not the position and that some Kashmiri Pandits who met him, were advised by him to join hands with the Kashmiri Muslim compatriots for a better future. He said that a freedom struggle was going on in Kashmir and the people there were influenced by the struggle for independence which was going on in the subcontinent. The people of Kashmir were demanding democratic rights and freedom in the same manner as the people of British India were demanding. He said that Government could be captured by two methods. One was to grab a country by force and the other was the wishes of the people. It was not possible to purchase any country with money and then rule it.

There was a complete strike in Srinagar on the occasion of the "Kashmir Day" which was observed by the Muslims in many parts of India.

MAJLISI AHRAR'S CONTRIBUTION

The *Majlisi Ahrar*, which was formed in 1929, did not see eye to eye with the All India Kashmir Committee, as it feared that the Qadianis would propagate their own religious beliefs in the garb of the All India Kashmir Committee. A meeting of all Muslim groups was held in Barkat Ali Hall, Lahore under the chairmanship of Allama Iqbal and on 14th August, which has already been mentioned as Kashmir day, a resolution was passed in mammoth public meeting under presidentship of Allama Iqbal, in which the Kashmir Committee was urged to combat the violent attitude of Kashmir Government. It was decided that entry of Muslim volunteers into Kashmir be started on 15th August, the working Committee of the *Majlisi Ahrar* under the chairmanship of Maulana Ahmad Ali, declared in a decision that the conflict in Kashmir was not of Hindus *versus* Muslims or a communal question nor did the *Majilsi Ahrar* demand that the Maharaja should be unseated from power. The *Majlis* also said that British intervention in Kashmir was not desirable and that the British authorities were also responsible for the situation in Kashmir. It was decided that a Committee, headed by Maulana Mazahar Ali Azhar would go to Kashmir for an on the spot inquiry into the situation.

It was unfortunate for Kashmiri that the All India Kashmir Committee *versus* Ahrar differences cropped up between their leaders from India.

Sheikh Abdullah says in *Aatash-i-Chinar* (p.136-147) that the delegation of the Ahrar were guests of the State Government and all the time they held meetings with Raja Hari Kishen Kaul, the Prime Minister of the Dogra regime. Abdullah says that the Ahrar leaders complained that no attention was paid to the Ahrar, to which Abdullah replied that the Kashmir Committee was sending legal assistance to the Kashmiris who were involved in cases by the authorities, while the Ahrar did nothing of the sort.

He admits that a great number of the volunteers was forced into the State by the Ahrar, which perturbed the authorities. Many of the Ahrar volunteers were martyred by the Dogra army.

Abdullah says that very soon it transpired that the Qadianis, in the garb of the Kashmir Committee, were propagating their own sectarian ideas amongst the Muslim of Kashmir. In Lahore, at the house of the in-laws of Abdullah, a meeting was arranged which was also attended by Mirza Bashiruddin and also by Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mehr. Abdullah says that in his speech, he complained that the Qadianis were propagating their own religion in the garb of the All-India Kashmir Committee to which the Ahmadiya Chief said that his sect was basically a religious group and that they could not abandon their religious propaganda. On this Abdullah told him that the Muslim Conference, which was leading the freedom struggle, and the sect of Mirza Bashiruddin, could not remain together. After that they left the Muslim Conference.[53]

Now that the Government allowed the people to form political parties and hold political meetings, the Muslim Conference was formed on 14-15-16 October, 1932, in the *Pathhar Masjid* ground, Srinagar and delegation of the All India Kashmir Committee, compressing Mr. Abdur Rahim Dard, Maulana Ismail Ghaznavi and Syed Habib had specially come. Election of the office holders was held in a peaceful manner.

Unfortunately, differences cropped up between the leaders of the Muslim Conference from the very first day. The freedom movement was greatly damaged by the differences. Thus, when an invitation was sent to Allama Iqbal to attend the Muslim Conference session, he politely declined and advised that Kashmiris should compose their differences and then alone would they be able to achieve anything.

Elections to the Jammu and Kashmir State

Legislative Assembly, called *Praja Sabha*, were held in 1934, when in accordance with the recommendations of a commission appointed by the Maharaja, it was ordained by the ruler that a Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly would be formed, some of whose members would be elected by people and some nominated by the Maharjah. The assembly or the *Praja Sabha* was to consist of seventy five members. This was for the first time that in one of the nearly six hundred native states of the sub-Continent, a Legislative Assembly, though weak and unrepresentative, was formed.

Mention may also be made of the Commission of Esquiry which was headed by Sir. B. J. Glancy of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. It had four non-official members: Ghulam Ahmad Ashai (Muslim) and Prem Nath Bazaz (Hindu) from Kashmir province and Ch. Ghulam Abbas (Muslim) and Lok Nath Sharma (Hindu) from Jammu province. Hindus of Jammu forced Lok Nath Sharma to resign from the Commission. Pressure was brought about on Prem Nath Bazaz also by Pandits of Kashmir, but he resisted the pressure and continued to work as a member till the report was completed and presented to the authorities concerned. Bazaz was also disowned by the Pandits of Kashmir, but he, being a man of independent views, defied them, and continued to work with the Commission till it finalised and completed its Report, a very important document in the political and constitutional history of Kashmir.

COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Report of this Commission was published in April 1932. Main recommendations were readily accepted by the ruler, says Bazaz, who was one of the members. All religious buildings in possession of the Government were restored to them. Hindu Law of inheritance was allowed to remain. An increase in the number of Muslims teachers and of the appointment of a Special Officer of supervising and promoting Muslim Education was also recommended. In the matter of distribution of Government services, the following recommendations were made:

a. Minimum qualifications should not be pitched unnecessarily high.
b. All vacancies should be effectively advertised and similar action should be taken as regards all scholarships intended to provide equipment to Government services.
c. Effective measures should be taken to provide a system of appointment and a machinery for supervising that system as such was to prevent the due interests of any community from being neglected.

Proprietary rights were granted to all peasant on the lands where the State happened to be the owner. *Kahcharie* (grazing) tax was recommended to be suspended in specific areas.

Regarding *bagar* (forced unpaid labour) the Commission recommended that in case of *Kar-e-Sarkar* (Labour requisitioned for State purposes) should be strictly enforced and payment should be made at proper rates for all services rendered.

It was also recommended that promotion of industries should receive the utmost attention of the State authorities.

The State Assembly came into existence as a result of the recommendations of the Franchise Committee, appointed by the Maharaja on 31st May, 1932, under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice, Sir Barjore Dalla. The Committee recommended the formation of a Legislative Assembly whose composition was to be as follows:

1.	Elected Muslims	21
2.	Elected Hindus	10
3.	Elected Sikhs	2
4.	Nominated members	42
	Total:	75

It was declared that nominated members shall not be less than thirty two and Hindus shall not be more than twenty five. It was left to the Maharaja that he would nominate the remaining twelve members from any community be liked. According to Sarraf, "it was a device to further cripple the representative character of the Assembly consisting of seventy five members."

Right of vote was extremely limited to the educated and the privileged few. From amongst Muslims, sixteen members were elected unopposed and from non-Muslims, twelve were elected uncontested. Twenty seven were nominated by the Maharaja, amongst Muslims as well as non-Muslims. There were elections on the remaining elected seats. The session of the assembly took place on 17th October, 1934. The Muslim Conference had captured fourteen of the elected twenty one seats. Mian Ahmad Yar was elected the Party leader of the Muslim Conference.

ATTEMPTS TO "SECURALISE" POLITICS

Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, the Hindu member of the Glancy Commission, was almost disowned by the Hindu Pandit community of Kashmir Valley and therefore, he started working hand in hand with Sheikh Abdullah. Most of the drafting of resolutions and policy declarations of the Muslim Conference led by Abdullah, was done by Prem Nath Bazaz. In 1935, they jointly started the Urdu weekly *Hamdard* to "popularize the ideology and to lay foundations of progressive nationalism in the State". The inauguration of the

Hamdard was done by Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew in Hazuri Bagh, Srinagar and it was claimed that the paper would "blaze a new trail" in a journalism. A joint letter was written by Abdullah and Bazaz, to Pandit Nehru, for guidance and encouragement from him and from the "Nationalist movement" of India, for the "nationalist" movement of Kashmir. Bazaz wrote a book named *Kashmir Ka Gandhi* saying that Abdullah would prove to be the nationalist leader of Kashmir as Gandhi (MK) was the nationalist leader of India. The mere fact that Abdullah and Bazaz, a Hindu and a Muslim, started the joint venture of *Hamdard*, was enough indicator of the fact that the politics in Kashmir was going to be secularized. Bazaz made Abdullah realize that in a country like Kashmir, responsible and democratic Government would be easier to attain if the political party wore a secular and nationalistic cloak and was supported by the "nationalist" movement of India, obviously the Indian National Congress.

The Muslim Conference observed a Responsible Government Day and Abdullah had appealed to non-Muslims also to participate in the functions.

Abdullah met Pandit Nehru at the residence of Sardar Abdur Rahman Mitha, a Congress leader, who was the son of Sir Suleman Qasim Mitha, than Mayor of Bombay. There were no doubt left that sooner or later the Muslim Conference was to be buried and reborn in shape of the National Conference.

On 26th March, 1938 the working Committee of the Muslim Conference decided that the party should be changed into "All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference."[54]

On 29th August, 1938, was started the "National Demand Movement" when under joint signatures of leaders of various communities, it was demanded that a full responsible Government be established in the State. On 11th June, 1939, special session of the General

Council of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was held in which majority of the delegates resolved that the doors of the Party would be thrown open for all citizens of Jammu and Kashmir and henceforth it would be known as National instead of mere Muslim Conference.

Bazaz, who had the biggest hand in prevailing upon Sheikh Abdullah, in converting the Muslim party to nationalism, calls 11th June, 1939 as a "red letter day" of Kashmir history, because his ambitions were fulfilled and the Muslim Conference was dead and gone and the National Conference came into existence. But the jubilation's were short-lived. Differences cropped up between Abdullah and Bazaz.

There were various reasons for the disintegration of the National Conference and differences amongst its top leaders. The Muslims felt that the new party was coming under the influence of the Indian National Congress, which ultimately proved to be nationalist only in name and was actually the Hindu Congress. Most of the Hindu members of the newly formed National Conference also considered the National Conference as a unofficial branch of the Congress. This was not liked by the Muslim members. The Hindu and Sikh members of National Conference, says Bazaz, were not prompted by a desire of freedom or even a wish to secularize politics in the State. "They only felt happy that by doing so, they were helping the cause of Indian Nationalism, which, despite the statements of the Indian leaders of the Congress to the contrary, was becoming another name of Hindu Nationalism, Clearly, it was the promoting of the communal mentality of the Hindu which was cleverly presented in a nationalist secular garb."

Bazaz himself felt his position becoming awkward. Abdullah, even after booming the leader of the "secular" National Conference, would go to the Dargah of Hazratbal to make religious and political speeches. One day, he declared that Islam was the Shining Sun and other religions were stars and planets. When objection was raised by his non-Muslims members as to what right had he to make such a speech as President of an out and out political organization, he declared. "I am first a Muslim and last a Muslim." In a meeting of the working Committee of the National Conference, it had been demanded that in the State of Jammu Kashmir, the *Hindustani* language, in both scripts (Persian as well as Devangri/Hindi) should be the medium of instruction, but when orders were passed to the same effect by the concerned Government authority, the National Conference members of the Assembly, sided with the Muslim Conference members, opposing introductions of the Hindi language in a Muslim majority State like Kashmir. Everything, thus, was in hotchpotch. Prem Nath Bazaz resigned from the National Conference for his own reasons and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, who had reluctantly agreed to the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference, also resigned. The last-mentioned remained aloof for quite some time, while some enthusiasts amongst Muslims had demanded the revival of the Muslim Conference, and in fact had revived the Muslims Conference.

Sheikh Abdullah feeling ground slipping from under his feet, sought refuge at the doorsteps of the Hindu Congress. There is no doubt that the Hindu Congress was helping its non-Muslims members and leaders financially, all over India and Kashmir was no exception. Sheikh Abdullah was eulogised in vastly circulated Hindu, English, Urdu press as the "Lion of Kashmir" and as the "Gandhi from Kashmir", in the same manner in which Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Red Shirt leader, was lionaised a "Sarhadi Gandhi". I am sure they had a Balochistani Ghandi also, propagating the creed of Gandhiism (non-violence) amongst the Muslims, and trying to eradicate the spirit and the ideas of Muslim nationhood from the mind of the Muslims of these regions.

The Hindu nationalism, under the grab of nationalism and secularism, has aptly been described by Allama Iqbal in the following two verses.[55]

Nigah darad Brahman kare khud ra
Namay gooyad ba kas asraare khud ra
Boman gooyad ki az tasbeeh baguzar
Ba dooshe khud burad zinnari khud ra

Translated, this means:

The Brahman is very careful about his own affairs. He does not reveal his secrets to anybody. He tells me: "Abandon your rosary", but he carries his sacred thread on his own shoulder.

This exactly was nationalism of the Congress brand. Iqbal understood it fully well and never supported it during his life. The National Conference was formed by Abdullah and Party on June, 11 1939. But it was in 1976, 38 years after the death of Iqbal, that Sheikh Abdullah made the false claim that the National Conference had been formed by him on the advice of Allama Iqbal. This claim was made by Abdullah when the birth centenary of the Allama was observed in Kashmir (and India) and his old song (*Sarey jahaan say achha Hindustan hamara*) was played and exploited out of proportion, though that was written by Iqbal long ago and his real song was the one ***Muslim hain hum watan hai Sara Jahan Hamara.***

IQBAL AND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Sheikh Abdullah never made this claim of having converted the Muslim Conference into National Conference on the advice of Iqbal from 1938 to 1976. The best time and place for him to say so was when the National Conference was formed on the ruins of the Muslim Conference in 1939. But Abdullah never said so then. When he met Mr. M.A. Jinnah several times in 1944, and the question of Muslim *versus* National

Conference was discussed between the two very hotly in Kashmir and elsewhere, Abdullah could have told Jinnah that he had formed the National Conference on the advice of Iqbal. Abdullah never made such a claim in public nor in private. Iqbal was a Muslim Leaguer all his life. He was the propounder of the two-nation theory and as far back as 1930, he gave the idea of a separate State to the Muslims of the sub-continent. About Kashmir, in 1934, as the Chairman of the All India Kashmir Committee, he said in an appeal to the Muslims of India, urging them to observe 14th August, 1934, as Kashmir Day, that Kashmir was an Islamic State (in the poster which was in Urdu, the words used by Allama for Kashmir were: *Islami Riyasat*: How on earth could he advised Abdullah to bury the Muslim Conference and form the secular National Conference?[56]

Obviously, what Abdullah claimed thirty-eight years after the death of the Allama, is an afterthought which is a shameless lie, fabricated by the crafty brain of his Hindu friends. He may have told him to look after the rights and interests of the non-Muslims minorities of Jammu and Kashmir. And that does not mean that Muslims should abandon their own identity and wear the cloak of secularism.

The term of the State legislative assembly (called also *Praja Sabha* or the House of the people) expired on December 31, 1937. Next year, fresh elections were held and the Muslim Conference this time captured as many as nineteen seats from amongst the twenty one elected Muslim Constituencies. Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, from Srinagar, was again appointed the leader of the Muslim Conference Assembly group.

Two members, who were elected as independents, (Pir Ziauddin of Budgam and Chaudhry Abdul Karim of Mirpur) also joined the Muslim Conference. Thus, all the twenty one elected members of the Muslim side of the legislature were in the Muslim Conference.

It is a tragedy of the Muslims of Kashmir that their one-time leader and hero, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, who had been elevated to the position of hero from a non-entity, having been a mere school master, should have shattered the Muslim Conference to pieces. Though, the Muslim Conference was revived soon by noted leaders of the old Muslim Conference, the great divide was there. The leadership of the Valley, for one reason or the other, remained on the side of Abdullah.

PRO-PAKISTAN MOVEMENT IN KASHMIR

There is no doubt that with the emergence of the Pakistan movement in British India, the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir also threw their weight on the side of the Muslim League, but the sense of division in the rank and file of the Muslim of the State remained there and the Hindu Congress exploited the situation to the fullest.[57]

There were many odds against the pro-Pakistan, pro-Muslim League elements of Jammu and Kashmir. That was the Indian National Congress from British India, which flooded the National Conference people with money and full support. There were the Hindus from Jammu and the Pandits from Kashmir, who thought that formation of Pakistan would mean end of the non-Muslim hegemony in Jammu and Kashmir and the non-Muslims, who had been ruling the roost from 1819 in Kashmir, would lose the loaves and fishes of power and in a democratic form of Government, the Muslims of the State would have the upper hand. Then there was the Dogra Government itself, which was against all reforms and democratisation of the State. Hari Singh, who had modern education, disillusioned the people of Kashmir by his methods of administration. During his rule, the Rajputs of Jammu were enjoying supremacy in the administration.

The National Conference leaders were the agents of all these Muslim baiting elements of the State. From amongst the non-Muslims, there were quite some intellectuals, who realised that the personal rule of a feudal Maharaja could not last long. But they were few and far between. All the above mentioned elements were united against the Muslim movement of Kashmir, which in other words was the pro-Pakistan movement in the State.

REVIVAL OF THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE[58] PROPOSED

It was on 10th October, 1940, that 12 political leaders and workers met in Srinagar and they discussed the political situation in the State, that had cropped up after the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference. They felt that it was the greatest loss of the Muslims of Kashmir that at a time, when under the able leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslims of the sub-continent had demanded a separate independent homeland for the Muslims, free of any non-Muslim hegemony. The Muslims of Kashmir should have formed a party whose philosophy was the antithesis of the two-nation theory. Speech of one of the Muslim leaders in the last meeting of the Muslim Conference, on 11th June 1939, against the two-nation theory and separate nationhood of the Muslim of the sub-continent and Kashmir, had been characterised as "the last nail in the coffen of Pakistan" by the Hindu daily *Tribune* of Lahore in 1940.

Thus, the fourteen leaders and supporters of the two nation theory in Srinagar said in a joint statement on 10th October, 1940:

"It is not our intention to enter, at present, into a public debate about the merits and demerits of the formation of the National Conference nor do we desire to say, at this stage, as to what consequences have flowed from it. However, we have arrived at the conclusion that the purpose for which the so-called nationalist elements among the Hindu desired the formation of the National Conference, was to kill two birds with one stone. They were not able to do so by themselves and, therefore, resorted to the help and cooperation from Muslim leaders.

An important session of the Muslim Conference is being convened very soon and all sympathisers and well-wishers will be invited for participation so that, by joining our heads, we may be able to evolve an agreed formula and programme."

Those who signed the historic declaration, aiming at the revival of the Muslim Conference, included:

1- Sardar Gauhar Rahman Khan from Jammu city
2- Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan MLA from Poonch
3- Mirza Ataullah Khan Rajourvi from Rajouri
4- Qazi Abdul Ghani Delna, Baramula (MLA)
5- Pir Zia-ud-Din, MLA, Budgam
6- Babu Muhammad Abdullah, MLA, Jammu
7- Chaudhry Abdul Karim, MLA, Mirpur
8- Chaudhry Hamidullah Khan, MLA, Jammu
9- Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq, Journalist, Baramula
10- Sayed Hasan Shah Jalali, Srinagar
13- Gulam Haider Ghauri, Editor *Naujuan*, Jammu
14- Sayyed Mirak Shah, Srinagar

This news item was published by the weekly *al-Salaha* Srinagar. There were no daily newspaper of the Muslims in Srinagar in those days.

This was the first joint statement of leaders from different parts of the State, including the Valley of Kashmir and Jammu, which challenged the older and more well-known leaders who had buried the Muslim Conference just sixteen months ago.

It was during this period that the All India Muslim League, in its session in Minto-Park Lahore, had given a clear direction to Muslim politics in the sub-continent. Till, then, the Muslim leaders had been demanding assurances and guarantees from the Hindu Congress, but that stage was gone and the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims had been presented in black and white. The State of Jammu and Kashmir could not remain unaffected by the historic decision of the Muslim League in Lahore in the month of March 1940.

Some workers of the Muslim Conference met in Islamabad (Anantnag) and expressed their resentment on the formation of the National Conference, but they could not make much headway. Then some workers of the party disassociated from the National Conference and said that the *Mujahid Manzil* had been built with contributions from the Muslims, and National Conference, which was a nationalist and secular party, including non-Muslims, had nothing to do with *Mujhaid Manzil*, which had been constructed for the Muslim Conference. A large number of workers, along with Qureshi Yusuf, went to capture the *Mujahid Manzil*. This was on 15th September, 1940, when Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad, came with his group of hooligans and thrashed Qureshi and his companions. Mr. Prem Nath Bazaz alleges that these workers were acting on the instigation of Maulana Muhammad Sayeed Masoodi, who was a *Deobandi* scholar and was not pleased with the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference.[58] But this was not a correct assessment of Pandit Bazaz. Maulana Masoodi had no sympathy with the Muslim League throughout his life. No doubt, there was rivalry between Bazaz and Masoodi, but that Qureshi and his friend were instigated by Masoodi, does not seem to be correct. Sheikh Abdullah and his lieutenant, Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad would often resort to goonda tactics to suppress their opponents in the political field. Mr. Bazaz does not seem to be knowing that the chief scholar of Deoband, Maulana Husein Ahmad Madani, was also pro-nationalist and had been criticised by Iqbal in one of his poems as he had said that the foundation of Muslim nationhood was on the homeland and not religion.

People did respect Abdullah for the part he played in the awakening of the Muslims of Kashmir in the early stages of the movement. But how long could he continue to cash the old sacrifices and ignore the rising star of the Pakistan movement in Kashmir. Thus, whenever, the National Conferencites were confronted with argument, they would be very apologetic and then say that in British India, Mr. Jinnah was no doubt the leader of the Muslims but in Kashmir, it was better that Abdullah should be the leader. When they were asked that they should prevail on Abdullah and ask him to abandon his links with the Hindu Congress, they had no reply to this.

Intellectuals and supporters of the All India Muslim League in Jammu, disagreed with the renaming of the Muslim Conference as the National Conference. Professor Ishaque Qureshi of Jammu and some Muslim Leaguers from Pakistan, held a meeting in Jammu, in which formation of the National Conference was denounced and they tried to announce that they had no confidence in Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas who had agreed with Sheikh Abdullah in formation of the National Conference on the assurance that the new Party would not be an unofficial branch of the Indian National Congress. But the assurance seemed to have come to nought.[59]

FORMATION OF KASHMIR STATE MUSLIM LEAGUE[59]

Later on, a meeting of like-minded Kashmiris, was held in Srinagar. Professor Mir Abdul Aziz (namesake and teacher of the present writer in the S.P College Srinagar) was elected the president of the All Jammu and Kashmir State Muslim League. No need of drafting a separate Constitution of this party was felt because they were all ardent followers of the Quaid-i-Azam and the supporters of the All India Muslim League. For them, the formation of the National Conference, with the secualr programme, like the Congress, was a tragic development for Jammu and Kashmir. Those who were associated with the formation of the Muslim League included, besides (later on Lecturer) M.A. Aziz, who was made President,[60] Pir Ziauddin Andrabi, MLA, Ayub Shabbir, journalist and Editor of weekly Urdu *Alburq*, Agha Ashiq Husein, Advocate, Mirza Mohiuddin, who later retired as Superintendent of Jail, Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir, Muhammad Ismail Saghar (he passed away more than a decade ago in Srinagar and his son, Mahmud Ahmad Saghar, is the President of the Jammu and Kashmir Peoples League, whose chief leader is Mr. Shahhin Shah, Mr. Abdussalam Dallal, who later on joined the Muslim Conference and resisted the Indian onslaught on Kashmir from 1947 onwards and died in the prime of his youth when he had to remain underground for quite a long time, Muhammad Iqbal of Baltistan who retired as the Director of Information of the Azad Kashmir Government at Muzaffarabad, and Mr. Ahmadullah Rana, who was also later on elected President of the All Kashmir Muslim Students Union in early forties. He passed away in Bagh, Azad Kashmir as the headmaster of a Government High School in Azad Kashmir.

In Jammu, the Muslim League was formed by Sayyed Ghulam Haider Shah, Muhammad Ishaq Qureshi (later on known as Professor Ishaq Qureshi) and Sheikh Abdur-Rehman and Professor Abdul Rasheed of Prince of Wales College, Jammu.

During those days, pro-Muslim League newspapers from Lahore like *Zaminder*, *Ehsan*, *Inquilab*, the *Eastern Times* and the *Tulu-i-Islam* Journal of Ghulam Ahmad Parvez, were received in Srinagar and Jammu and these created an indelible impact on the mind of the Kashmiri youth.[61]

Kashmir Muslim Students Federation were organized in Jammu and Srinagar. The Students organisation in Srinagar was redesignated as Muslim Students Union and it did a lot of work in propagating the ideas of the All India Muslim League in the length and breadth of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The activists in favour of the Pakistan movement were not well-known and had no resources, but the slogan they adopted was popular, and in a short period of time, Sheikh Abdullah felt that he was treading on slippery ground.

Even the leaders of the National Conference who had agreed to the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference reluctantly, had second thoughts. They also resigned from the National Conference one by one. The chief among them was Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, who after remaining inactive for some time, took up the job of reorganising the Muslim Conference. By this time, some of those who had formed the Muslim League had joined government service and those who remained in the field also joined the reorganised and revived Muslim Conference which assumed the shape of an unofficial branch of the All India Muslim League in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.[62]

The Lahore session of the All India Muslim League, in which the demand of formation of a separate homeland of the Muslims was made for the first time officially, was also attended by some people who have attended the session in Lahore, but oft-repeated are those of M.A. Hafeez Advocate, MLA (later on Parlimentary secretary in Jammu and Kashmir) and after migration was made advocate general of Azad Jammu and Kashmir), Prof. M.A. Aziz (who was nominated member of the Working Committee of the All-India States Muslim League, an auxiliary organisation of the All India Muslim League). In the Lahore session of the All India Muslim League Nawab Muhammad Bahadur Khan (formerly Nawab Yar Jung) was elected the President of the All India State Muslim League to attend to the peculiar problems faced by the Muslims in the native states. It may be noted that the Indian National Congress had also formed the All India States Peoples Conference for the people of the native states.

Others who attended the Lahore session of the Muslim League, were Muhammad Ismail Saghar from Srinagar, Pir Ziauddin Andrabi MLA, from Budgam accompanied by Mufti Sayyed Ziaul Haq Bukhari, his nephew, Prof. Muhammad Ishaq Qureshi, Sayyed Hasan Shah Gardezi from Bagh, Sheikh Abdur Rahman, Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Karelvi, Munshi Gul Ahmad Khan Kausar, Editor of the Urdu weekly *Kausar*, Bagh, and Maulavi Ghulam Haider Jandalvi of Trarkhel, Poonch.[63]

As has already been mentioned, the formation of the Kashmir National Conference by the Muslim leaders of Jammu and Kashmir at a time when the Muslim League was about to raise the demand of Pakistan, was a very ill-advised in-opportune and unwise step. The word "Pakistan" had not been mentioned in the resolution of the Muslim League of March 1940. But the Hindu press of India started saying that the League had raised the demand of Pakistan and ultimately the Muslim League owned the name. In a short period of time, the whole of Muslim India was resounding with the new slogan. The word Pakistan had gained currency since Chaudhry Rehmat Ali coined it about a decade earlier. It was adopted by the Muslim nation of the sub-continent as well as by the Muslim League as the name of the country which was to be born in the name of Islam and the two-nation theory.

On 28th September, 1940 the second session of the Kashmir National Conference was held at Baramula, thirty two miles to the North of Srinagar. Along with Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, most of the Muslim leaders from the Jammu province, had resigned from the National Conference because they had realised that the Muslims masses in the State did not like the change of the Muslim Conference into an unofficial branch of the Indian National Congress, which was a Hindu party in the garb of nationalism and was against the Muslim demand of Pakistan. Only some die-hard supporters of Abdullah from Mirpur district of the Jammu province, attended the annual session of the National Conference at Baramula. This showed that wind was blowing against the so called nationalists led by Sheikh Abdullah.[64]

Thus, comments Rasheed Taseer, author of the *Tahreeki Hurriyat-e Kashmir*, from Srinagar, instead of uniting the Muslims and Hindus, the National Conference divided the Muslims of the State and that division was responsible for the ruin of the Kashmiris, which is continuing to this day. And Abdullah dug his own political grave when he said in a statement in the National Conference session "Although Kashmir in not included in this scheme of things (a separate Muslim Homeland in the subcontinent), yet as an Indian, I regret every such proposal which aims at the division of India. The plan of the division of India, as presented by the Muslim League, cannot fulfil the purpose which is said to be the objective of the Muslim League. This scheme of the Muslim League would intensify communal misgivings and doubts in the country and our mutual misgivings would prolong the life of British imperialism in India. I consider this division plan of the Muslim League a voice in the wildness. Therefore, no lover of free India should worry about it."

The cat had come out of the bag. Abdullah had poked his nose into the affairs of British Indian politics. He was speaking like an agent of the Congress which, in fact, he certainly was.

Sheikh Abdullah's dream that after the formation of the National Conference, the non-Muslims of the State would join the new party in large numbers, and they would modify their views about the Muslim majority of the State and curtail her opposition to the demand of responsible and democratic government in the State, was not fulfilled. The Hindus of Jammu and Kashmir had identified themselves with the Dogra ruling dynasty and they were not ready to change the position. Muslims of the State started distancing themselves from the National Conference and the Hindus encouraged the new party only so long as it opposed the Muslim demand of Pakistan. The only gains of Abdullah were personal. He became popular with the Hindus of India and their party, the Indian National Congress. He could no more advocate what the Hindus considered the "communal" demands of the Muslims of Kashmir, which were aimed at more representation of the Muslims in the civil administration and armed forces of the State. In fact, he became the leader of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir in 1931, on the basis of this demand, that is, representation to the Muslims of the State in the various departments according to their population. On becoming a nationalist, he despised the old demands and said that he was no more interested in "service politics". He openly started explaining secularism and even socialism to the common man. He would say that Allah Almighty was not Rabbul Muslimen (The Lord of the Muslims) but Rabbul Alameen (Lord of all the worlds and nations). Then he would speak on the subject of "have and have-nots", the tillers of the soil and the bloody blood suckers, the absentee landlords, the upper classes. His community and socialist friends encouraged him and taught him this jargon.

Recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry, that Muslims be given fair representation in the services which were implemented under pressure of the Muslim Conference, were now shelved by the Government as the Muslims were now divided into two groups. This was like a bolt from the blue for the Muslim educated class, whatever their number was.

There is no doubt that, like all other Muslims who were associated with the Hindu Congress, Abdullah also received financial assistance from the Congress. He was partronised by the well-organised and well-circulated Hindu press of India, both English and vernacular and his statements and utterances against the Muslim demand of Pakistan were flashed prominently by them on cover pages. As regards the Muslims of the State and their "communal" demands, the local press of Jammu and Srinagar, weak though it was, continued to advocate the same. The periodicals of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, also warned the people against the designs of the Hindu Congress and its agents in Kashmir. But the Muslim press of Jammu and Kashmir was discouraged by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The Muslim periodicals of Kashmir and Jammu were critical of the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference, which, in the ultimate analysis, proved to be an offshoot of the Indian National Congress, the predominantly Hindu body. Even the Dogra Government and the Hindus of Jammu and Kashmir gleefully welcomed the burial of the original Muslim Conference and offered their support to the National Conference, but only to the extent that its leaders were denouncing the two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah and opposing the demand of a separate homeland for the Muslims.

Abdullah was happy that he was, first elected the Vice President and later on the President of the All India

States Peoples Conference. Apparently, this body had been formed by the Congress as an association of the people of the native states (which were ruled by rajahs, maharajas and nawabs) because strictly speaking, the Indian National Congress, Like the Muslim League was also a party of the British India and not "Indian India" as the native states were then called as against British India.

SIR GOPALASWAMI AYYENGAR'S ROLE

Sir Gopalaswami Ayyengar was the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, about whom it is alleged that he also had a hand in the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference. During the rule of Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh, the official language of Jammu and Kashmir State, like the Sikh *durbar* of Lahore, was Persian. Urdu replaced it during the rule of the Maharajah Pratap Singh. When the freedom of press and platform was granted to the people of the State, newspapers and periodicals started appearing from Jammu, Srinagar and some other places in the State in the Urdu language. Attempts were made to bring out some journals in Hindi and Kashmiri also but they failed, notes Prem Nath Bazaz, himself a Kashmiri, who, in collaboration with Sheikh Abdullah, started the Urdu weekly *Hamdard* from Srinagar in mid-thirties. After some issues appeared, a joint letter was written by Abdullah and Bazaz to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, for guidance and *help* for the new venture. When Abdullah and Bazaz parted ways in politics and journalism, Bazaz became the sole owner of the weekly and he paid Abdullah an amount of about 1700 rupees as share of the market value of the weekly *Hamdard*. Pandit Bazaz told this writer that when Abdullah felt that the weekly was not going to succeed economically and financially, he wanted to abandon the paper and close it. But Bazaz insisted that the paper would continue appearing, on which Abdullah said that he wanted to disassociate from the paper and Bazaz had to mortgage the ornaments of his wife, Sona Butnee, to get the money and pay off the share of Abdullah, which made Abdullah happy when he put the amount in the pocket of his longish coat.

When Bazaz became the sole owner of the *Hamdard* weekly, he converted it into a leading journal of Kashmir, first as weekly and then as a daily, so much so that it even won laurels from a leader like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, during the latter's visit to Kashmir in 1944.

With a biased Hindu bureaucrat like Gopalaswami Ayyengar as the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, the Dogra Government started plans to make Hindi also the official language of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, though very few people in Jammu and Kashmir, even amongst the Hindus of Jammu and Pandits of the Valley, were interested in it. But the Hindus had the plans of Hinduising the State, availing of the existence of a Hindu Maharaja and therefore, they wanted to ride rough-shod over the sentiments of the Muslims of the state and introduced Hindi as the language of the State offices.

Ayyengar belonged to Madras and had no love for the Urdu language. The Urdu, Hindi controversy had raised its head in the whole of India and M.K. Gandhi, who was at heart a communalist, in a rejoinder to Maulvi Abdul Haq of the *Anjuman-e Taraqi Urdu*, had said that Urdu was the language of the Muslims and was written in the alphabet of the *Quran* and that he could not force the Hindus to read and learn Urdu.

It is well known that the controversy raised by the Hindu leaders against the Urdu language contributed a lot to the division of the subcontinent into two countries. When Congress governments were set up in eight provinces of British India as a result of the elections of 1937, they did their best to foist the Hindi language on the unwilling Muslims of these provinces. Urdu was characterised as the language of the Muslims only and therefore, it was to be victimised. Urdu was the first victim of the Congress "*wolves* in lamb's clothing". Details of the treatment meted out to the Muslims in the Congress ruled provinces have appeared in the famous Pirpur Report, compiled and published by the Muslim League under direction of the Quaid-i-Azam. When the Congress governments resigned for their own reasons, on the appeal of the Muslim League, Muslims throughout India observed Day of Deliverance or *Yaume-i-Najat*: and thanked Allah that He had made the anti-Muslim governments quit.

Gopalaswami Ayyengar also tried to enforce the Wardha Scheme of Education in Kashmir.

Earlier a Committee had been formed by the Kashmir Government to recommend educational reforms in the State. Its Chairman was Khwaja Ghulam-us Sayyedain, and its members were Dr. Zakir Husein (later on President of Indian Union), Mr. Eric Biscoe, Mr. Mahdi Ratta, Mr. Muhammad Ishaq and Mr. Nandlal. This Committee presented its report on 13th March 1939. The report among other things, said that the *lingua franca* of the entire State is Urdu and it is already the medium of instruction in the first primary class upto above. There is no doubt that Urdu is not the mother tongue of the majority of the people of the state, but it is close to *Dogri* and *Punjabi*, and it is to some extent close to the *Pahari* and the *Gojri* languages.

Therefore, for the students of the State whose mother tongues are the above, Urdu as a medium of instruction would pose no difficulty.

From practical point of view also, there is no other language which can be the medium of instruction in the State. From the lexicon point of view also Urdu is a vast and developed language and it has the potentiality to adapt words from other languages also. When the question of script arose, the Committee preferred the Urdu script which was in vogue then and the Committee pointed out that: "By introducing two scripts (Hindi and Persian) there was fear of Hindu Muslim division in the State and that would create great obstacles in the joint nationhood of the people of Kashmir."

This was the report of a Committee which included Muslims, Hindus and Christians as members. But the Ayyengar regime ignored the recommendations of the official Committee and tried to impose Hindi arbitrarily on the people of the State.

On 10th December, 1939, the Working Committee of Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference had demanded in its Mirpur session that in competitive examinations for higher posts, the candidates may be allowed to write their answer papers in Urdu or Hindi as they liked and in 1940, in the month of January 1940, Dr. Moonje, the chief of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, had demanded in its Calcutta session that Hindi language should be imposed on the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which was already under Hindu *raj*. And on 1st of October, the same year, the Ayyengar regime issued clear-cut orders about the language and script policy, saying that:

1. For the medium of instruction, the language should be the same, i.e., Urdu. But both scripts, Persian and Devnagri should be given equal status. The books for different course should be the same, but should be printed in two, that is, both the scripts.

2. For the students in the schools, it will be their own choice as to which script they would prefer.

3. The teachers in the schools should be such who know both the scripts. If they do not know any one of two scripts, they would be bound to learn the other script, of which they have no knowledge, within the period of one year. To a satisfactory extent in the above school, no such person will in future be appointed a teacher who

does not know both the scripts. In case a person who is already a teacher, in not able to learn both the scripts within one year, he would not be made permanent.

By giving the Devnagri script the status equal to Urdu, the authorities created consternation in the Muslims State. They feared that in future, a day may come, when in accordance with the proposals of Hindu Mahasabha, Urdu may be abolished altogether and Hindi may become the State Language.

In the same year, the Government declared that nobody could keep firearms of any sort. Only the Dogra Rajputs were exempted from this, and the strange explanation to this discrimination was given that the Rajputs were bound to keep fire-arms for religious purposes. This was of course a cruel joke. When the Hindu religion came into existence firearms did not exist in any part of the world, including India and Kashmir. How then could firearms be part of the Hindu religion. It was a travesty of truth and pretext to allow the ruling clan to retain firearms to defend the Dogra empire and suppress the Muslims of the State. Many Muslims members of the Praja Sabha opposed this proposal tooth and nail, but with the help of the Hindus and the nominated members, the law was passed on 25th October 1940. This was another discriminatory law against the Muslim majority of Kashmir. On the one hand, the Maharaja was spreading lies against the Kashmiris that they were cowards and a non-martial race, but on the other, out of their fear, the Dogra Ruler did not allow them to keep fire-arms in any case.[65]

On 26th January, 1941, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, who had resigned from the National Conference in despair, ultimately decided to guide and reorganize the Muslims Conference, which had already been resuscitated by some enthusiasts. In a statement to the press that conversion of the Muslim Conference had thrown the interests of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir into jeopardy, he said that he had come to the conclusion that the only way out for the Muslims of the State was to revive the Muslim Conference. He also said that the Muslim Conference would, as before, realise the fact that the non-Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir also had certain rights and privileges, as the nationals of Jammu and Kashmir, and the Muslims Conference would, as before lend its support to the non-Muslims so that they also enjoy their rights as the citizens of the State and that there would be and should be no danger to the other communities of the State by the revival of the Muslim Conference.

On 13th April, 1941, at the residence of Sardar Gauhar Rahman, the Muslim Conference was duly revived. The workers sweared by the Holy Quran that they would spare no effort to be loyal to the Muslim Conference. And resolutions were passed to urge the Government to withdraw all the discriminatory laws prevalent against the Muslims in the State.[66]

Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas undertook a tour of the Jammu province and majority of the leaders and old workers rejoined the revived Muslim Conference.

The annual session of the revived Muslim Conference was held on 17, 18, 19 April 1941 in Jammu and it was inaugurated by the Editor of the daily *Zamindar* Lahore, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, the President of the party, in his address openly supported the All India Muslim League and its policy about the seperate homeland of the Muslims of Indian subcontinent.[67]

Nobody was now left with any doubt about the Muslim Conference having adopted the policy of the Muslim League. In this address as the President of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, emphasized that the wishes not only of the rulers of the native states of India, but of the people inhabiting these personal fiefdoms should be taken into consideration by the British Government.

Ghulam Abbas made it clear that Jammu and Kashmir could not be called a Hindu State for the mere fact that the Maharja of Jammu and Kashmir was a Hindu by religion. He said that Muslims were in a thumping majority in the State and it did not behove the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Gopala Swami Ayyengar, to hand over the Jammu and Kashmir State to the tender mercies of Hindu India. He said if an attempt was made by the Hindu rulers and his Hindu Prime Minister in this direction, the Muslims of the State would draw a line of cancellation over such a vindictive and communalistic action.

The Muslim Conference declared that it had no confidence on Gopalaswami Ayyengar. It also demanded repeal of the laws which were discriminatory to the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir.

Maulana Sayyed Mirak Shah Andrabi, from the Kashmir Valley, was made the senior Vice-President of the Muslim Conference. Some prominent workers from the Valley were also included in the working Committee of the Muslim Conference.

The Dogra regime did not take this revival of the Muslim Conference lying down. They imposed ban on the movements of the leaders and they were forbidden to visit far off areas in the State. Knowing full well, the Muslims of the State were cooperating with them in the matter of restoration of the Muslim Conference to its old glory.

The Deputy Commissioner of Mirpur, who was then known as the *Wazire-i-Wazarat*[68] or the subdivisonal magistrate, banned the entry of Ghulam Abbas for one year into the district. Entry of Mr. A.R. Saghar was also banned in Mirpur for one year.

The re-emergence of the Muslim Conference in major parts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir unnerved Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah on one side and the Maharaja's Government on the other side. The

National Conference leaders tried to pose as the real sympathisers of the Muslims of Kashmir, and in line with the Muslim Conference, demanded repeal of the laws which were discriminatory to the Muslims of Kashmir, like the Arms Act and the Legislation like the introduction of the Hindi language in the educational institutions of the State. Seven members of the State Assembly, who were the National Conference group were directed to resign their memberships in the Assembly over the nonwithdrawal of the above discriminatory laws.

The Dogra Government did not hold the bye-elections to these constituences which fell vacant due to the resignations. Thus, the National Conference remained here nor there.

In April, 1942, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference supported the demand of Pakistan for the Muslims of the sub-continent and this made the party target of the revenge of the Hindus, the Nationalists and the Dogra Government. All these groups had the patronage of the Hindu Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha of India at their back. The nationalists were now keen that the bye-elections should be held so that the National Conference could make its presence felt in the house and give an impression to the people that the party was representing their interests in the semi-elected house of the *Praja Sabha* as the Legislative Assembly was called.

The Dogra regime did not hold the bye-elections on the pretext that the Second Great War was going on in the world and the elections to the legislature could not be held in the State. This was denounced by the Editor of the weekly *Islah* of Srinagar in an editorial and in an article in a Lahore Urdu daily, saying that it was strange that elections were held in Egypt, which was in the throes of the war, but the Kashmir Government was not allowing the bye-elections while there was no war anywhere near Kashmir.

The Maharaja nominated Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beg and Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq as the members of the Kashmir Assembly as members of the two constituencies who had earlier resigned. Thus, the Government of the Maharaja entered into an unholy alliance with the National Conference as both were against the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League. Two prominent members of the National Conference working Committee resigned their membership against bargaining by their party with the Maharaja's Government. They were Raja Muhammad Akbar and Tarlok Chand.

In due course of time, the Leaders of the National Conference exposed themselves the worst blackmakers and opportunists. By and by, it transpired that the only thing in which the Nationalists were concerned, was political power and concessions from the Government.

THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT IN KASHMIR

There is no doubt that Abdullah was in league with the Madrasi Prime Minister of the Dogra Government against the rising tide of Muslim awakening in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and both wanted to crush the Muslim Conference by hook or by crook.

But in the Length and breadth of the State, particularly in Srinagar and Jammu, the Muslim youth, irrespective of what leaders were doing, hailed the Muslim League's policy and the slogan of Pakistan. Abdullah's denunciation of the demand of Pakistan, offended the Muslim students of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Daily *Inquilaab* of Lahore, quoted by Prof. Muhammad Sarwar Abbasi, contained a statement of Muhammad Amin Shamim, brother of the late K.H. Khurshid. In its issue dated 19th April, 1940 assuring the Quaid-i-Azam, that the Muslim students of Jammu and Kashmir welcomed the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League and that the students of Kashmir would fight for the establishment of Pakistan, shoulder to shoulder with the Muslim students of India, and extend all possible help to them. This, says Professor Sarwar Abbasi, that the Muslims students of Jammu and Kashmir were interested in the Pakistan Movement even before the revival of the Muslim Conference in the State.

On 1st March, 1941, the Punjab Muslim Students Federation held a "Pakistan Conference" in Lahore in the Islamia College, Lahore, and it was presided over by the Quaid-i-Azam. An invitation was also extended to the Jammu Muslims Students Federation, which thanked the Punjab Muslims Students Federation and assured them of all help from the Students of Jammu and Kashmir and assured them that delegates from the State would join them in the Conference they were holding under the presidentship of the Quaid-i-Azam. And when the Muslim Conference was revived and it extended its support to the Pakistan ideology, the joy of the Muslim students of Jammu and Kashmir knew no bounds and they started working for the Muslim Conference wholeheartedly. Sometimes, it so happened that in a certain town, there was no unit of the Muslim Conference for quite some time, but the Muslim Students Union unit, in due course, converted itself into Muslim Conference or helped the latter in setting up a branch of this political party in that town. Both the students and the elders thus started working hand in hand for the common cause of Pakistan.[68]

According to the research of Sarwar Abbasi,[69] in Jammu, those youth who worked for the Pakistan Movement as students included Hidayat Akhtar (later on Editor, *Nawa-i-Waqat*, Rawalpindi), Abdul Majid Salaria (later Chief Conservator of Forests in Azad Kashmir), Malik Khurshid Ahmad, Anwar Bhalli, Abdul Hamid Khayal, Khawajah Muhammad Iqbal Butt. Mir Abdul Mannan, Mir Abdul Qayyum, Mir Rashid, Malik Aftab, Sheikh Abdus-Salam, Chaudhry Ahsanul Haque, Waheed Chiragh, Muhammad Usman and Abdul Haque. The Conference called "Pakistan Conference" organised by the Muslims Students Federation in Jammu on 21st June 1940, condemned the statement of the Jammu and Kashmir Prime Minister who had supported the idea of United India or *Akhand Bharat* in his capacity of the Prime Minister of the State. It was said in the resolution passed by the Conference that the people of Jammu and Kashmir were ardent supporters of the ten crore Muslims of British India.

Prof. Abbasi continues to write. "In 1942, the Kashmir Muslim Students Federation renamed itself the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Students Union and those who were in the Union included the President Khwajah Ahmadullah Raina, the General Secretary Khurshid Hasan Khurshid. From amongst the students working for the Pakistan movement were Mir Abdul Aziz (later Editor of weekly *Millat* Srinagar and presently Editor of *Insaf* Rawalpindi and Editor *Times of Kashmir* Rawalpindi), Mr. Muhammad Akram Khan (later on a Judge of the Azad Kashmir High Court, now living in Muzaffarabad), Chaudhry Mazharul Haque, Bashir Ahmad Arshed, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan (retired Chief Justice of Azad Kashmir High Court), Raja Dehru Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hanif Khan, Khwaish Habibullah Kakru, Kh Ghulam Muhammad Mir, Ali Muhammad Ganai, Ahmad Shamim, Kh. Ali Muhammad, Shaukat Husein, Ghulam Nabi Mir, Ghulam Nabi Pandit and Muhammad Naqi Khan. Mir Abdul Aziz was General Secretary of the Students Union and Muhammad Akram the Vice-President.

Professor Nazir-ul Islam, Prof. Ehsan-ul Haque, and Prof. Rajah Maqbool Ahmad Khan, Prof. M.A. Aziz and many others in government service were having sympathies with the Muslim Students Union.

The Office of the Muslim Students Union was set up in Maharaja Bazar, Srinagar, which was an area where the nationalists dominated and the number of non-Muslim Conference and pro-Muslim League elements was less. But with the help of enthusiastic supporters and members of the Muslim Conference, the Office was set up at this place and it continued to function there till 1947.

When the Muslim Conference was revived properly in the Valley of Kashmir also, Mirwaiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah also joined its ranks, the Muslim Students Union also made its presence felt in the Valley, and particularly in the city of Srinagar. When the Indian National Congress leaders started the "Quit India Movement" against the British in August 1942, Muslims throughout the subcontinent were asked by Quaid-i-Azam to remain aloof from the Congress agitation, because the Quaid rightly thought that the Congress wanted to blackmail the British and get power in the whole of India transferred to themselves, without any settlement with the Muslim League. The Quaid said that the Quit India movement was a pistol directed at the chest of the Muslims.

Thus, on 8th August, 1942, when nationalist and Hindu students boycotted the classes in the Amar Singh Degree College, the Muslim Students attended the classes. There is no doubt the number of the Muslim Students in the A.S.D. College, in both 3rd and 4th year classes, was less than that of the Hindus, though Muslims were more in Kashmir than non-Muslims, but the mere fact that Muslim students attended the classes proved to the hilt that the Muslims of Kashmir, especially the youth, considered themselves separate from the Congress and had nothing to do with its policies and with the programme of its agents in Kashmir, the leaders of the National Conference headed by Sheikh Abdullah. The writer of these lines was in the third year class during those days and had been elected the Information Secretary of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Students Union, whose Chief at that time was Kh. Ahmadullah Raina of Kursu Padshahi Bagh and

General Secretary was Mr. K.H. Khurshid, who later on was selected as his private Secretary by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah in 1944.

In 1943, we invited Nawab Muhammad Bahadur Khan (earlier entitled Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung by the Hyderabad State) to preside over the annual session of the Muslim Students Union. The invitation was accepted by him and the visit took place in the month of August 1943. The annual session of the Muslim Conference was also scheduled to be held in August. Says Prem Nath Bazaz, on page 203 of the *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir.*[70]

"A month before the session, Nawab Muhammad Bahadur Khan, President of the All India States Muslim League, had publicly expressed his intention of attending the Muslim Conference session. But Haksar, the Prime Minister of Kashmir at that time, imposed restrictions of the annual session of the Muslim Conference, that no outsider (any body who does not belong to the State of Jammu and Kashmir) should attend the session, "It was at that time decided that he would attend the session of the All Kashmir Muslim Students Union." Says Mr. Bazaz: "Accompanied by his wife, he came to Srinagar on the notified day. The Government ordered him to quit and when he hesitated, the police arrested him and leaving his wife behind, carried him in a police van to Kohala, the border post of the Jhelum Valley Road. Before his arrest the Nawab had addressed a letter to the Prime Minister of Kashmir, assuring him that he would remain a silent spectator at the session, but this communication was not even acknowledged. While the Haksar Government (K.N. Haksar was the name of Prime Minister of Kashmir) disallowed Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung to stay within the borders of the State. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, also an outsider but a Hindu, was put up as an honoured guest of the Revenue Minister. He delivered his address to the Kashmir Editor's Conference, a few days later on 20th

August, (1943) upholding the political ideology of the Akhand (united) Hindustan. Many speeches supporting the Congress politics, were also made by others in this Conference of the Editors. There were vigorous protests on every side against this Conference of the Editors and invidious distinction. The *Hamdard* (paper of Mr. Bazaz) wrote editorials forcefully and fearlessly criticising the partisan policy of the Government. The daily also discussed the causes and the consequences of the resignations of Raja Maharaja Singh (who had been Prime Minister of Kashmir before Haksar). Kailash Narayan Haksar forthwith pressed the weapon of the Press Act into service and demanded a heavy security from the Daily, thinking that in this way, he would be able to smother the disloyal journal. *The Hamdard* issued an appeal to the people for funds and the Government no less the reactionary and anti-democratic classes were surprised and dismayed to find that the full amount of the security was subscribed in small pieces of annas and rupees within the prescribed time and the Daily saved from assassination.[71]

The Muslim Students Union, in a meeting of protest, condemned the action of Haksar regime in externing the leader of the All India Muslim League like this and receiving the pro-Congress journalists in Srinagar, as honoured guests of the government.

The Muslim Students Union used to observe Iqbal Day every year. In 1943, on 21st April, the Iqbal Day was observed in the spacious compound of the Islamia College (at that time it was just Islamia High School) and tributes were paid by the Students and others to the great poet of the East, who made great contribution for the awakening of the Muslims.

In May, 1942, in response to an appeal of the Quaid-i-Azam for funds, Muslims of Srinagar sent some funds to the Muslim League. And the Muslim Students Union did not lag behind, the Muslim Students of the Sri Pratap College collected an amount of fifty rupees and sent it to the Quaid-i-Azam, along with a letter explaining to him that the Muslim Students were poor and could not send a large amount at that time. He was assured that the Muslim Students would try to send more funds.

The sentiments of the Muslim Students of Kashmir deeply impressed the great Muslim leader and he wrote back to the students "why do you say we are poor. I thank you for your efforts and wish you success."

In November 1943, the annual session of Punjab Muslim Students Federation was held in Jullendhar (now in East Punjab), which was attended by the Quaid-i-Azam. From Kashmir, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas also attended it. And from amongst the students, K.H. Khurshid and Ghulam Rasool Zargar attended it on behalf of the Muslim Students Union. On this occasion, the Quaid-i-Azam gave a special banner, inscribed with a crescent, to the delegation of the Students Union of Kashmir, which was received by Mr. K.H. Khurshid. Two years after that, when the Quaid came to Kashmir, Mr. Khurshid met him as the correspondent of the Orient Press of India and Quaid selected him as his Private Secretary.[72]

In both the Colleges of Srinagar, the Muslim Students were less in number than the non-Muslims. This was something very paradoxical, because as regards the population Muslims were the thumping majority in the State. But unfortunately, like the rest of the Muslims in the whole subcontinent the Muslims were backward in education. This was a clear drawback in the activities of the Muslim Students Union. The Hindus, the Pandits, the Dogra government and the National Conference of Sheikh jointly arranged a front against the Muslim Conference and the Muslims Students Union, but both the organisation needed to meet the onslaught of the anti-democratic elements with unity, faith and courage.

CHAPTER V

QUAID-I-AZAM'S LAST VISIT TO KASHMIR

With this, we come to the year 1944, which was a year of extremely important political activities in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This was so because in this year, the Quaid-i-Azam, on the invitation of the National Conference of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, which was a pro-Muslim League organisation, visited the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The invitations were duly extended by the presidents of the two parties, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas Khan.

Mr. Jinnah informed both the leaders by telegram that he was reaching Jammu on such date and Srinagar on the next. A copy of the telegram was also received by Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Shah, the *Mirwaiz* of Kashmir, who had joined the Muslim Conference, as he was persuaded by Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas. The joining of *Mirwaiz Sahib*, and his followers, in the Muslim Conference had unnerved Sheikh Abdullah. What is more, the activities of the Muslim Students Union of Kashmir were also a source of trouble for him. He found that the ground was slipping away from under his feet. He, therefore, decided to meet the danger to his leadership by convincing Mr. Jinnah that there was no need of a communal party in Kashmir, and that he could continue his policies in British India but abandon his interests in Kashmir, because, thought Abdullah, the interests of the Kashmiri Muslims were safe in the hands of the leaders of the National Conference.

The best course for Abdullah would have been to disband the National Conference and join the renewed Muslim Conference. But he did not do that. He was standing, as they say in Kashmir, on two boats, which, under the pressure of two feet of the same man, start floating away from each other and the result is that the man is drowned. Abdullah wanted to humour Jinnah but at the same time he wanted at deep, the National Conference alive. The Congress leaders, the parrons of Abdullah, were in jail and the tide of Muslim awakening was rising every day in India. The Muslim League had become a mass organisation and slogans of *Pakistan zindabad* rent the air not only in British India but even in Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. Jinnah reached Jammu on May 9, 1944. In Jammu the League chief was received by the Muslim minority with open arms. The Hindus abstained from receiving him. As regards the National Conference of Abdullah, it had no supporters in Jammu who could receive or contact Mr. Jinnah on behalf of Sheikh Abdullah in that city, or upto Banihal, the last town in Jammu province.

When Mr. Jinnah entered the Valley of Kashmir on 10th May, the National Conference tried to harass the Muslim Conference supporters and keep them away from receiving their Leader. At some places, the Nationalists indulged in *goondaism*. In Islamabad (Anantnag) the tooth of a respectable Muslim Conference supporter, Master Muhammad Ismail, was broken in an attack by the supporters of Sheikh Abdullah. The man was rushed to the rest house where Mr. Jinnah was staying. Mr. Jinnah was sorry to see such things happening in Kashmir in the name of political differences. Miss Fatima Jinnah, the sister of the Quaid, cleaned the bleeding mouth of the respected Ismail Sheikh with her handkerchief. Thus, in their bid to prove to Mr. Jinnah that they were "the only party in Kashmir" the National Conference created a very bad impression on the mind of Mr. Jinnah, who came to the conclusion that the party of Sheikh Abdullah wanted to suppress other parties, particularly the Muslim Conference, which in fact was emerging as the real party of the Muslim of Jammu and Kashmir.

In the afternoon, on reaching Srinagar, Mr. Jinnah was received by the National Conference of Sheikh Abdullah at the Pratap Park and an address of welcome was presented to him. In the address it was pointed out that the Muslim majority and the non-Muslim minority in Kashmir were living in peace and jointly working for their political rights. Mr. Jinnah thanked the National Conference for the right royal reception which was accorded to him but said that the reception was not for his person, but for the All India Muslim League, the representative organisation of the ten crore Musliins of India, of which he was the President. These historic words of Mr. Jinnah were flashed next day in the daily *Hamdard* of Prem Nath Bazaz. In the same evening Mr. Jinnah addressed the reception of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, in which he said that the Allah of Muslims was one their Prophet and Quran were the same and therefore, their voice should also be one. By saying this, he left nobody in doubt that his sympathies were with the Muslim Conference.[73]

Leaders of the Muslim Conference, the National Conference, journalists, lawyers and many intellectuals and public men met Mr. Jinnah before he gave the verdict regarding the Muslim Conference *versus* National Conference issue. After a close study of the whole situation, while addressing the annual session of the Muslim Conference, at Muslim Park, Jamia Masjid, Srinagar, Mr. Jinnah observed: "I have patiently heard the arguments of the Muslim Leaders of the National Conference. It is not for me to bring any pressure upon them because the State politics is different from the politics of British India. But as a Muslim I must say what is right for the Muslims. So far as I have been able to understand, the view point of the Muslim Leaders of the National Conference, I do not think that they can succeed." Jinnah revealed that "the leaders of the National Conference have assured him that the National Conference is the party of the Muslims; that their goal, policy and programme are the same as that of the Muslim Conference; that they fight for the welfare of the Muslims and that if the State, Hindus and Sikhs co-operate with them well and good, if not, they (the nationalist Muslims) did not mind."[74]

Jinnah did not approve of this method and advised the State Muslims in these words:

"You should awaken and instill life in the dead bones of the Muslim nation. This goal cannot be attained without unity. With one objective in view, you should establish one platform and one organisation and rally round one banner."

The Muslim League Leader did not leave anybody in doubt about the particular organisation he recommended. He concluded his speech by saying:

"99 per cent of the Muslims who met me, are of the opinion that Muslim Conference alone is the representative organisation of the State Muslims".[75]

This frank and fearless and very clear-cut verdict of the leader of the Muslim Nation, left nobody in doubt that the Quaid wanted the Muslim Conference to be strengthened and the National Conference leaders had lost the game. Mr. Jinnah likened the National Conference of Abdullah to the Indian National Congress, which was posing to be an organisation of the Muslim as well as non-Muslims but actually was a Hindu organisation. Likewise, said Mr. Jinnah, Sheikh Abdullah privately said that his organisation also was an out and out a Muslim party but apparently it wanted the Hindu and Sikh elements to join it. Mr. Jinnah said that this was not the right way for a Muslim leader.

This plain speaking of Jinnah highly displeased Sheikh Abdullah. Says Mr. Bazaz:

"Naively enough, the Nationalists were upset and infuriated to the publicly pronounced devastating verdict of Jinnah. Not unnaturally they thought they had committed suicide by voluntarily accepting the League President as arbitrator. The binding, however, was only moral and no legal value could be attached to it. So to undo the "mischief", Public meetings were arranged in different "safe" zones of the city to oppose the "anti-democratic" and "anti-State" observations of Jinnah. Abdullah was the principal speaker in all these meetings. Never have filthier words been used by any responsible man against his opponents in Kashmir than were expressed by Abdullah in these speeches. In one of these demogoguic utterances at a locality called Khanyar, he advised Mr. Jinnah, to leave Kashmir. "If Jinnah does not give up the habit of interfering in our politics, it will be difficult for him to go back in an honourable manner." Jinnah left for India by J.V. Road, *via* Baramula, on 24th July, 1944, that is undeterred by the threats of Abdullah, he remained in Srinagar for more than a month after these irresponsible speeches of Abdullah, who had invited Jinnah as arbitrator but when the aribitrator gave his verdict, Abdullah accused him of being a party. At Baramula, in a function in the honour of Jinnah, a Nationalist leader tried to pick up a row but the mischief was controlled without any intoward incident taking place. At Muzaffarabad, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs accorded a grand reception for the leader of the Muslims of the sub-continent.

The Quaid-i-Azam was in Kashmir for 78 days, starting with the arrival on 9th May, Jammu and his departure on 26th July from Muzaffarabad. There was a great impact on the people of Kashmir by his visit. The National Conference, which was now an offshoot of the Hindu Congress, with Congress money and the propaganda of the effective Hindu press, could never become popular again.

It has been alleged by some quarters that Ch. Ghulam Abbas stood in the way of rapproachment between Jinnah and Abdullah. It is absurd Firstly, Abdullah was never in the camp of Jinnah and the question of rapproachment could not arise. Abdullah's demand and condition was that Jinnah should abandon its moral support to the Muslim Conference and let the National Conference alone serve the Kashmiri Muslims. How could a leader of the stature and caliber of Jinnah agree to this bargaining?. It meant that Jinnah could continue with his "two-nation theory" in British India but support "one-nation theory" in Jammu and Kashmir.

This issue was discussed with the Quaid-i-Azam in a meeting of the delegation of the Kashmir Students Union, which lasted for one and a half hour. The issue being discussed was lack of leadership in Kashmir. About the late Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, the Quaid said that he is an honest leader "but I have advised him to shift from Jammu to Srinagar, learn the Kashmiri language and practise in Srinagar, so that he can become the leader of the whole of Jammu and Kashmir." One of us pointed out that Kashmiri was a difficult language, on which Mr. Jinnah said. "My dear fellow, there is nothing difficult in this world. Look at me, I have learnt Urdu in this old age and I am going to address the Muslim Conference session in Urdu day after tomorrow." And that was what he did.

And about Abdullah, he was sure that he is not coming back to the fold of the Muslims. He had reasons for that. He said that being in the National Conference, a pro-congress party, Abdullah was enjoying the partronage of the Hindu government of Kashmir, And there was no doubt that Congress funds were being received by the National Conference. "Suppose," said Mr. Jinnah, "the Congress is paying him 500 rupees per month, to bring him to the Muslim Conference, I will have to pay him 1000 rupees per month, while I do not believe in purchasing the loyalties of leaders with money, but suppose I give him 1000 rupees per month, the Congress would then offer him 2000 rupees per month."

Some of the students still said that there was no leadership of the Muslims in Kashmir. On this Jinnah got annoyed. He exclaimed "Why don't you become the leaders?" and, thumping the cushion on which he was sitting, he asked us: "Should I import leaders for you from British India?"

CERTIFICATE TO ABDULLAH

The very wise words which Jinnah said before his departure from Kashmir, have been recorded by Prem Nath Bazaz, in the following lines. Mr. Bazaz has commented on the words sayings.

"As regards the *Musalmans*, as I said, are vitally, concerned with their welfare, but I regret that although, Sheikh Abdullah and his party and the Muslim Conference discussed matters with me, in Delhi and in Lahore, before my arrival there, and were good enough to accord me a great reception and were anxious that I should hear both sides and bring about a settlement, when I, after careful consideration, suggested that the *Musalmans* should organise themselves, under one flag and on one platform, not only my advice was not acceptable to Shiekh Abdullah, but he, as is his habit, which has become a second nature with him, he indulged in all sorts of a language of a most offensive and a vituperative character in attacking me. My advice to the *Musalmans* is that the differences can only be resolved by argument, discussion, exchange of views and reason, and not by *goondaism* and one thing I must draw attention of the Kashmir Government is that *goondasim* must be put down at any cost, and there should be a constitutional liberty of speech and freedom of thought, which is the elementrary right of every citizen."

This sound advice was ignored by Abdullah, who became a willing tool in the hands of the Indian National Congress, and was also ignored by the Dogra Government, whose right to rule Kashmir was questioned by Sheikh Abdullah when he started the "Quit Kashmir Movement" against the Maharaja in May 1946. Earlier, on the advice of the Hindu leadership of the Congress, one of Abdullah's men, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beg, was made a minister in the Dogra regime, under the system of dyarchy, under which a Muslim and a Hindu were made ministers from the legislative assembly. The National Conference leaders joy had known no bounds when one of their members was made the Minister of the Public Works Department and they got booties in shape of loaves and fishes of power. Ganga Ram was made the Minister of Education and in that capacity he rejected the demand of setting up a College at Sopore, saying that more education would result in spread of socialism in the State. The paradox is that Abdullah's party had adopted the *New Kashmir*, an exact replica of the USSR Constitution, as its manifesto and the leaders of the National Conference were openly saying that would introduce the socialist system in the State, but Minister of Education in the same cabinet, i.e., a colleague of the "Socialist" Afzal Beg was saying that more education would spread socialism in the country.

The political opportunism, and the hunger of power of the National Conference forced the National Conference to share power with other reacionary elements of the Government. That showed that their socialism and claims of being a democratic and *awami* party were only skin-deep.

A Madras Muslim journal, long ago, wrote that Abdullah was a man who could not survive without the oxygen of power, and this is why, as we will see in due course of time, Abdullah died in the chair provided to him by his Indian masters. He often used to say "I want to live like an Indian and die like an Indian" and that is as he did.

The Dogra ruler, who rejected the sound advice of Mr. Jinnah, fared no better. In desperation in October 1947, instead of agreeing to the sound advice of a stateman like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, he appointed Sheikh Abdullah as the Administrator of Jammu and Kashmir, without any legal, constitutional, democratic or moral sanction. Hari Singh thought that this would save his *gaddi*, but Abdullah saw that he was thrown out of the State for good. Both proved to be losers, Abdullah lost the confidence and love of the poor Kashmiri nation which made him the "Lion of Kashmir" and the uncrowned king of Kashmir from a school teacher, and Hari Singh lost his crown and the throne, and died a miserable death in Bombay, unwept and unsung. He willed that his ashes should be spread over the Jammu city by an aeroplane and that was done. That is to say, he could not come back to his home alive, only his ashes did.

While accepting the share of power, that is, one ministership in the unelected and unrepresentative cabinet, under the diarchy system, the National Conference leaders exposed themselves as power hungry and typical opportunists. Mian Ahmad Yar was the leader of the Muslim Conference group in the Legislative Assembly since 1934, when the *Praja Sabha*, as the Assembly was called officially, was inaugurated. He continued to be the leader when the Party was converted into National Conference. But when there was a chance for a National Conference to become a minister from the backdoor, Mirza Afzal Beg, who was a Kashmiri speaking person from the Valley and belonged to the "Kitchen cabinet" of Abdullah, became the Minister and poor Ahmad Yar was ignored.

It was during 1944, when the Maharaja returned home from a tour of Europe, that he was to receive a public ovation, by passing through the streets of

Srinagar. Abdullah thought it was time for him and his party to make friends with the Maharaja and win his favour, and by doing so, they could assure the Maharaja that there was no fear from the Muslim Leaguers and Muslim Conference to the Dogra throne. Abdullah, the self-proclaimed revolutionary, got the office of the National Conference, called *Mujahid Manzil* which fell in the way, white-washed and renovated, and when Maharaja passed by in his car, Abdullah and his followers raised slogans of Maharaja Bahadur Ki Jai (Victory be to the Brave Maharaja). We saw how brave the Maharaja was, when he left Srinagar and never returned to the Valley. The sort of victory he achieved, is also known to everybody. The *raj* ended in smoke. Karan Singh, his son, who was called *Yauraj* (heir-apparent) in his childhood and youth, could never ascend the throne. He was State-President and then Governor for some years, but that also is a thing of the past now.

When the second world war came to an end, the leaders of the Indian National Congress started their "Muslim mass contact movement" from Kashmir. Earlier, before the second Great War, they had started a Muslim Mass Contact Movement in British India, which had failed in achieving its objective. The Hindus were already with the Congress and the greatest impediment in path of their supremacy was the Muslim League, which stood between them and the Muslim masses. Other Hindu organisations were no match for the Congress, because in effect, the Congress was also a Hindu organisation. The Congress had started the "Quit India" agitation with the purpose of blackmailing the British Government and getting charge of the whole of India as a free and united (akhand they called it) Baharat.

Pandit Nehru had always been claiming that there only two powers in India, the British Government and the Congress. Mr. Jinnah emphatically contradicted this and made it clear with full force that there were three powers in the subcontinent, the British, the Hindu

Congress and the Muslim League, which was the representative organisation of the ten crore Muslims of India.

To ,disprove the Muslim League, the Hindu leaders started their mass contact campaign, which in fact was their election campaign, from Kashmir.

Pandit Nehru had also visited Kashmir in the year 1940, when the Muslim Conference had been converted into National Conference and there was not much of resistance against Congress in the Valley. But even then, when Abdullah took Nehru and his party in a river procession in the river Jhelum in Srinagar, a large number of Kashmiris demonstarted against Nehru and the Congress leaders.

Now the public reception of the Congress leaders was the necessity of both Nehru and Abdullah. Nehru wanted to give the world the impression that Muslim Kashmir was with him and the Muslim League claim of being representative of all the Muslims was not wholy true. He also knew that the Muslim League Leader had spent more than two months in the Valley and his visit was not just for sight-seeing or a pleasure trip. Nehru wanted to undo the effects of the League chief's visit to Kashmir.

In the same manner, Abdullah's prestige had gone down the drain. He was no more the great *Sher-i-Kashmir* or the beloved of the Kashmiri people, who was acclaimed by some crodulous Kashmiris as the saviour and the Messiah of Kashmir. When Abdullah was at the zenith of his popularity in the early thirties, strange tales were current about him. Nobody can match the Kashmiris in giving currency to rumours. In those days, the credulous Kashmiris used to tell each others. "When the authorities of the Maharaja ordered Abdullah to jump into a boiling cauldron of oil, Abdullah surprised them by putting his arm in the boiling oil and the boiling cauldron was as cold as ice." Then there was a gossip that Sheikh Sahib's name was written on the leaves of the apple trees of a garden in Rambagh. The writer of these lines was a primary class students in those days and could read Urdu words easily. When I saw the leaves, I found that there was no name of any human being, much less of Abdullah, but the leaves were surely infected with germs and worms who had made some lines on them, leaving credulous people to indulge in the wishfull thinking that it was the name of *Sher-i-Kashmir*. Some women used to get their ailing children to the Sheikh, thinking that he would heal and cure them by his mere breath.

But it did not take Abdullah much time to lose his glory and name. The earth was taken from under his feet with the magical words of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who rejected the deceptive theory of "one-nation" and urged the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to join hands under one banner. It was during those days that Abdullah, who preached secularism by day and Islam by night, formed the *Majlis-i-Auqaf*, or the Muslim Trust Board. With the tacit support of the anti-Pakistan and anti-Muslim Government of Kashmir, Abdullah captured most of the Muslim shrines of Kashmir, including the *Dargah* of *Hazratbal*, where the sacred relie of the Prophet of Islam (May peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) was placed. He formed committees to control the income and the expenditure of the shrines and the masjids. What is more, he frequently went to the yearly or weekly, *melas* (fairs or the congregations) of these shrines, and made a political, or quasi-political speech. Prem Nath Bazaz and other secular-minded people fully exposed him as a charlaton, who claimed that religion should have nothing doing with politics, but most of the speeches of Abdullah were made in the shrines. Even the *Mujahid Manzil*, which has been built for the Muslim Conference on Turst land of the Shahi Masjid, was under the control of the National Conference and its "Franco", the hockey-stick-weilding leader of the National Conferecne.

To recapitulate, it was decided that Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders should visit Kashmir and Abdullah believed that the harm done to his leadership by Jinnah one year before, could be undone by the visit of Nehru and the whole Congress heirarchy.

In the meantime, Rai Bahadur Ramchandra Kak, a Kashmiri Pandit, had been appointed Prime Minister by the Maharaja and his appointment was hailed by the National Conferencites, saying that he was the first Kashmiri (Pandit) who had been made the Prime Minister during the hundred years of the Dorga rule.

It was proclaimed by the Nationalists with great fanfare that the leaders of the Congress were coming to the Valley and they hoped that all opposition would be crushed. "Ugly" demonstrations had been held in Kashmir five years before when Nehru and his young daughter came to Kashmir and were taken out in a river procession by Abdullah. But the Muslim Conference was nowhere then. While the Muslim League had been formed then in Kashmir and demonstrations were held against Nehru under the auspices of the League. Five long years had passed and opposition to the Dogra autocratic rule and the Pro-Hindu leaders had got intesified. The Muslim youths of Kashmir were also a force to reckon with. In the village of Southern Kashmir, the *Kisan Mazdoor* Conference, led by socialists like Prem Nath Bazaz and radicals like Kanhia Lal Kaul and Abdus-Salam Yatu, had given many a beatings to the National Conference leaders and workers. But thinking that the Dogra Government was at their back, the National Conference leaders issued provocative statements against those whom they feared would hold demonstrations against Nehru and other Congress leaders. Abdullah addressed a series of corner meetings in Srinagar and threatened his opponents. On 30th July, at *Kharadoori*, he said: "Those who take part in hostile demonstrations, will be disgraced and routed."[75]

HISTORIC DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST NEHRU & CO.

It was evident, says Mr. Bazaz, that the city was being made ready psychologically and even physically for a clash. The authorities did not take any notice of all this. The best thing would have been to ask Abdullah to refrain from taking out the river procession.

In reply to the statements of Abdullah and men of his like, the leaders of the Muslim Conference like Abdusaalam Dallal, and the leaders of the Muslim Students Union, warned that Nehru and his hosts would get a telling answer if they said anything provocative or abusive against Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the beloved leader of the ten crores Muslims of India, which also included the Kashmiris.

The day, after all, came and the river procession started from *Chhatabal*, the northern part of the city. Hardly had it started when thousands of Kashmiris, on either side of the river Jhelum, through which the boat-procession was sailing against the current, raised full-throated slogans against the Hindu Congress, naming each one of them, and in favour of Pakistan. Black flags were being waved and the Congress leaders, which included besides Nehru, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mian Iftikharuddin and also young Indira Gandhi. The demonstrators hurled brickbats, pebbles, dead hens, old shoes, cats and rats on the processionists. People were also swarming on the bridges which overhung the river and from there also, slogans against the unwelcome guests of Kashmir were raised with full force.

There were also fights and skirmishes amongst the supporters of the National Conference and the Muslim Conference in the downtown areas. The general secretary of the Muslim Conference, Qureshi Muhammad Yusuf, was dragged from a *tongta* and meroilessly wounded and beaten black and blue.

One man, Salam Darzi, fell from the window of a *masjid* in a skirmish and died on the ground. The National Conferencites claimed that he was their man and the General Secretary of the city Muslim Conference, Abdus salam Dallal, was accused of murdering the tailor. Dallal was arrested on the charge of murder. The case took one full year to decide in the session court and after that, Mr. Dallal was found out to be innocent, acquitted and released.

There is no doubt that the police of the Dogra Government was at the back of the National Conferencites who were the hosts of the "uncrowned king of India", Jawaharlal Nehru.

In the afternoon, the processionist, crestfallen as they were because of the hostile demonstration of their opponents, reached *Hazuri Bagh*, where a Public meeting was held. Abdullah was all fire because of the demonstrations which disgraced his guests. The Congress leaders also realised that their hosts had no hold on the people of Kashmir.

The office holders of the Kashmir Muslim Students Union, including the General Secretary, Mir Abdul Aziz, distributed a questionnaire which was printed in large numbers and was addressed to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Indian National Congress. The National Conference volunteers, enraged by the demonstrations of the Muslims, snatched a bundle of the questionnaire from Mir Abdul Aziz and scattered it, and the crowd picked up the scattered copies of the questionnaire. Thus, the National Conferencites themselves helped in the disbursment of the questionnaire. But this writer, who was the general secretary of the Muslim Students Union, had to suffer a good thrashing at the hands of the National Conferencites, and his sides continued to ache for about a week.

Next day, the infuriated Abdullah, while burying the tailor Salam Darzi, whom the National Conferencites calimed to be their man, made a very threatening speech against his opponents. He named seven of his main opponents by name and urged his followers to physically eliminate them on the orders of their "Commander" that was he himself. The list of those opponents, whom Abdullah named as his targets, was published next day in the report of the speech of Abdullah in the National Conference Organ, the Urdu daily *Khidmat*, Srinagar.

Abdullah tried to lick his wounds which he received on 1st August (1945), by getting at least three hundred supporters of the Muslim Conference arrested by the police of the Dogra Government. For about one week, the reign of terror continued in the city. Any National Conference Leader could tell the police that such and such a man was also amongst the stone-throwers and demonstrators on 1st August at the Congress procession and that was enough evidence to get the man arrested.

National Conference session was held on 3rd, 4th and 5th August, at Sopore. The session was also attended by Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Nehru. It was well attended, but the damage that had been done to the Congress leaders in the whole of India by the reports appearing in the newspapers from Kashmir to Cape Comorin (Ras Kumari) that filth and shoes had been hurled on the leaders of Indian National Congress by the Kashmir, could not be undone.

Below is the translation of the questions, which were put to the president of the Indian National Congress, in the Hazuri Bagh of Srinagar, by the General Secretary of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Students Union, on 1st August, 1945. The original questionnaire was in Urdu:

"Respected Maulana, Assalamu Alaikum.

"We are asking you some questions, It is hoped that you will provide us satisfactory answers and earn our gratitude.

1. (A) What is the policy of the Indian National Congress regarding the native states of Indian?

(B) Wherever there was freedom movements going on in the native states, what help has been rendered to them, if at all, and in what manner?

(C) The movement of freedom in Kashmir was started in 1931. Has the Congress supported it in any manner so far?

(D) Has the Congress prepared any progressive constitution for the native states, for the time when the subcontinent will become free?

(E) The Muslim of the areas which will in future constitute Pakistan, sacrificed even their young sons for the freedom of the Kashmiri Muslims in 1931. When the latter started their freedom struggle in 1931, Pandit Nehru did not even say a word of sympathy for the Kashmiris at that time, and now your Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah is advising us not to have any sympathy for the Muslims of the subcontinent. Is not this advice against Islamic principles?

2. The National Conference of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah has joined with the Hindu Government of Kashmir, which awards ten years rigorous imprisonment to a Muslim who slaughters a cow. Do you support the unholy alliance of the Kashmir Government and the National Conference?

3. You may be aware that if any non-Muslim of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, accepts Islam as his religion at his own will, the Kashmir Government, with which the National Conference is allied spiritually and physically, confiscates his or her property. Can the National Conference, which is an ally of such a government, be called a freedom loving party?

4. Is it not a fact that some fund has been

earmarked by the Indian National Congress to spread disunity amongst the Muslims? Is it not a fact that your visit to this state is a link of the same chain of Muslim Mass Contact by the Congress?

5. When the National Demand Movement was launched in Kashmir by the leaders, the National Conference sent a delegation to Gandhi and Nehru and sought their help to get the detenues released, Gandhi said in Peshawar in a causal manner that as long as the Kashmir Government did not send him a report about these disturbances, he could not intervene in the matter. What hope can the Kashmir have from the Congress now?

6. Are you not aware, Maulana Shaib, that the policies of the Congress are more under the influence of the *Mahashas, lalahs*, the capitalist and Mr. Gandhi, than that of yours?

7 Mr. Gandhi always says that he wants the establishment of *Ram Rajya* (Hindu rule) in independent India. Have you thus abandoned the idea of *Hakumati Ilahiya* (Kingdom of God)?

8. Is it not a farce that you say that you have come to Kashmir to improve your health?

9. You admitted yourself in Aligarh before the Muslim Students recently that you have lost the confidence of the Muslims. Are you sure that even if you contest Municipal election in Calcutta, you cannot win it against a Muslim Leauge candidate?

10. It is the creed of the National Conference that leaders from outside Kashmir have no right to interfere in Kashmir politics. If it is so, are you not yourself guilty of dabbling in the internal politics of Kashmir?

11 Is it not a fact that the Simla Conference failed because of traitors like yourself and Khizr Hayat Khan. Did not the Congress try to capture the Muslim seats in this Conference and thus make the Simla Conference a failure?

12. Did you ever try to understand the Pakistan issue? Do you really think that it would ruin the Muslims?

13. The Indian National Congress gave a list of their men to the Governor General Lord Wavel and told him that he could nominate members of the Council from that list. Is it not a lottery sort of thing and a joke on democracy?

14. Why did the Congress lay emphasis on snatching away a part of the Muslim quota in the Simla Conference? Why did not the Congress try to get some Sikh and scheduled caste seats?

15. Do you not think that you are playing the same part in the history of the Muslims of India which was played by Abdullah bin Ubbai in the battle of Uhad, by Mir Jaffer in Bengal and by Mir Sadiq in Deccan? Allah Almighty has given you a brain to think, eyes to see and ears to hear as to how damaging your presence in the Congress is for the Muslims of India.

16. If, on account of your Jafer-like activities, you are called "A shame of the Millat, a shame for the religion and a shame for the country," would you have any objection?

17. Why do you not render a great service to the Muslims by tendering resignation from politics altogether?

18. Several members of the Indian National Congress, of which you are the President, like Pandit Nehru, claim to be socialists, but despite that, they are all praise for the Bombay plan, i.e., Economic plan of the Indian Big Business. Can this fraud be called socialism?

19. Are you not aware that the Congress leaders offered to the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on several occasions that they were ready to make him the Prime Minister of United India, but he rejected the offer. Quaid-i-Azam did not care a bit for such an offer and cheap popularity. But you are overjoyed to become

the President of the Congress. Are you not betraying the interests of the Muslim Nation by your quest for power and position?

20 Is the proposed formation of Pakistan against the teachings of the Holy Quran? If not, why then are you opposing the creation of Pakistan.

22. Do you agree with the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi that *Ram Raj* should be enforced in free India?

23. Will the *Kasturba Fund* (fund collected in the name of the deceased wife of M.K. Gandhi) be used to rally the Muslims round the banner of the Indian National Congress?

24. Are not the Muslims of India one nation? If they are, then why are you putting an obstacle in the path of freedom of this nation?

(Sd.) Mir Abdul Aziz

General Secretary All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Students Union, Srinagar 1-8-1945.[76]

A REVIEW OF MUSLIM STUDENTS ACTIVITIES

We have seen that the Muslim Conference was revived in the Jammu province before it was revived in the Valley of Kashmir. But, in the absence of the Muslim Conference, the Muslim Students raised the slogan of *Islam zindabad, Pakistan zindabad* and *Muslim League zindabad* in the Valley before the Muslim Conference was revived there. It is a fact that students of Kashmir Valley organised themselves first in the shape of Muslim Bloc, then in the form of the Muslim Students Federation, followed by all Kashmir Muslim Students Union, which finally was given the name of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Students Union in March, 1944.

When it was known in April 1944 that Quaid-i-

Azam Muhammd Ali Jinnah was visiting Kashmir on the invitation of the Muslim Conference and the National Conference, the Muslim Students also girt up their loins to accord a reception to the Quaid-i-Azam and invited him to address the annual session of the Muslim Students Union.

The annual session of the Muslim Students Union was to start on 16th June. The Students Union decided to wait on the Quaid in the house boat at *Lal Mandi*, where he was staying. The meeting took place in the house boat on 15th June and six of us were in the deputation. We had been told that the meeting would last for about twenty minutes, but it continued for an hour and a half. Almost all the aspects of Kashmir, as well as the politics of the subcontinent were discussed. The Quaid accepted our invitation to address the annual session. The future of Kashmir also came under discussion. The suppression of the Muslims of Kashmir by the Dogra regime also was brought to the notice of the Leader of Nation. The discussion with him was frank and fair and the advice he gave to the students and the guidance which he provided is even now the beacon light for the Muslims of Kashmir.

On 16th June, 1944, the annual session of the Muslim Students Union was inaugurated by Mr. Allah Radha Saghar, then the general secretary of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and it was presided over by Chaudhry Hamidullah Khan, the leader of the Muslim Conference group in the Legislative Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Ghulam Husein Sangeen delivered the address as the Chairman of the Students Union. Chaudhry Hameedullah Khan, in his extempore address, urged the students to work for their rights and he urged them to make Hazrat Allama Iqbal their ideal. He also urged the students to move to every nook and corner of Kashmir and propagate the slogan of Pakistan and Muslim policies. He said that the Kashmir Government would do no good to the Muslims and the

Muslim Students. He said that the Muslim of India were one nation and Kashmiris were part thereof. The meeting was over at 9 P.M.

On 17th June 1944, the annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and the All Jammu Muslim Students Union was held at the same *pendal*. The gathering was not less than one lakh. Muslim poets, especially Anwar Qureshi Ghaziabadi, recited their soul-stirring poems and animated the hearts of the audience. First the Muslim Conference and then the Muslim Students Union presented the addresses of welcome to the Quaid. On behalf of the Students, it was Mr. Muhammad Siddique Khan who read out the address, in which the students assured the Quaid-i-Azam of their fullest support and cooperation and assured him that they would abide by his commands. They said that they would even sacrifise their lives for the attainment of the goal of Pakistan. A brief report of the activities of the Muslim Students Union was also given in the welcome address.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S REPLY TO STUDENTS' WELCOME ADDRESS

After replying the welcome address of the Muslim Conference, which was in Urdu, the Quaid addressed the students in English, because here the welcome address was also in English.

Unfortunately, the English version, being the original, of the Quaid's address to the students, is not available with me. But the Urdu translation made by me, for my Urdu publication: *Muslim Naujuanan-i-Kashmir ki Bedari*, being the histroy of the Muslim Students Union, published in Srinagar in the year 1946, is very much available, as one copy of the booklet was traced by the National Archives of Pakistan in Jinnah Papers, and a photostat of the same was provided to me by Dr. Z.H. Zaidi of the National Archives of Pakistan, author of the

Jinnah Papers. I have reprinted the same pamphlet in Pakistan two years ago and am translating the Urdu version of the Quaid's address from that book.

Said the Quaid:

"I am very much tired now (the Quaid had spoken for one and a half hour in Urdu, to the hundred thousand Muslims who were present). I am very thankful to you for this honour of inviting me to address you. Although, my reply is brief, but do not feel that your session is of less importance. Your first duty is to pass your examinations and politics for you should be of secondary interest. I have been in Kashmir now for more than a month. During this period, I studied Kashmir very deeply. I have found that your condition is very bad. But I do not hold you responsible for it. During the last one month, so many parties of youngmen came to meet me, so that I could not understand as to in how many parties the youth of Kashmir are divided. Every young man complained to me that there are so many parties of the grown up people in the State. But I have seen so many parties of the youth here."

"Therefore, my friends, first set your own house in order. As regards the students, I would tell them: "My dear Muslim youngmen, form only one organisation. It is not your duty to take part in practical politics, You should, however, work for the welfare and betterment of the students. Even the students have to face a lot of grievances and difficulties, as other people have their own problems and difficulties. And I know that the Government have no ears to hear these complaints nor do they have eyes to see them. And you are constrained to face these problems. But if you become one organisation, your voice will have much force and be courageous. This is how your problems during studentship would end. You must not waste your precious time because the time that is lost never returns. You must study enough, not only about the politics of Kashmir and India, but also about world affairs and other matters. You can discuss these issues between yourselves. If you agree with the programme of your National organisation, and if you like it, only you can carry the programme of this organisation to those of your poeple who can understand it.

"My dear friends, see the condition of your people. Give new life to your dead nation. We have been spending life of individualism for the last one hundred years. How dreadful a position it is. But do not be disappointed. Small beginnings have great endings. Establish night schools. Pay attention to the health of your people. What have you done so far? No attention has been paid in Birtish India too, to these problems. Your country is very beautiful. It is an emerald studded in gold. Make the economic lives of your people better. You must struggle incessantly. I pray that God Almighty may grant you success. Amen.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MSU FOR 1942-43

Read out by General Secretary (Mr. K.H.Khurshid) (concised). The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Students Union was formed when Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah made an appeal for donations so that a national *Baitul Maal* could be formed. Kashmiri youths sent a contribution to the Quaid-i-Azam and at the same time formed the Kashmir Muslim Students Union. The students strengthened their organisation.

On 8th August, the Indian National Congress started the Quit India movement of non-cooperation in British India and on 5th September, 1942, the non-Muslim Studens of Kashmir decided to hold a strike in the colleges and schools of Srinagar. But, in accordance with the directive of the Quaid-i-Azam, Muslim Students of Kashmir remained aloof from the strike and they attended their classes as usual. It was a clear proof of the fact that the Muslims are a separate nation. At this time, the then Principal of the Amar Singh Degree College, Srinagar, Dr. Muhammad Din Taseer, admitted that the Muslim Students have the feeling that they are from a separate nation and this is why they preferred the policy of their own organisation.

On 10th October, 1942, Mr. Othman Woo, the representative of the Chinese Islamic Federation, came to Kashmir and the MSU accorded to him a grand reception and presented to him a welcome address. On seeing the gathering, Mr. Woo said that he was happy to see the unity and strength of the Muslims Students of Kashmir and congratulated them on their enthusiasm.

On the occassion of the *Eid-ul Fitr*, the nationalists of Srinagar tried to torture the pro-Muslim Conference supporters and did not spare the Muslim students as well, but the Muslim students bravely faced the onslaught.

In November 1942, when the annual session of the All India Muslim Students Federation was held in Jullendhar, the Quaid-i-Azam presented a special trophy to the leader of the Kashmir delegation of the MSU.

The Union observed "Deliverance Day" on 19th April, 1942, when Sir Gopalaswami quit Kashmir Prime Ministership. 21st April was observed as Iqbal Day and 13th July as Martyrs Day. Earlier, 21st March, 1942, was observed as *Eid Milad-un-nabi*, and 24th March as Pakistan Day. In order to popularise the national newspaper, *Dawn*, a local news agent was persuaded to start the sale of *Dawn*. The new Prime Minister of Kashmir, Sir Maharaj Singh, was requested to approve the *Dawn* for the educational institutions and libraries and reading rooms, which was done. A fund was set up to provide text books to poor Muslim students. The first annual session of the Union was to be held on 13-14-15 August in 1943, in Srinagar with Nawab Yar Jung in chair, but the State government externed the Nawab Sahib from Kashmir, within hours of his arrival. The MSU postponed the annual session *sine die* in protest.

ANNUAL REPORT OF MSU FOR 1943-44

The second year of the Union starts on 20th August, 1943. The Union condemned the externments of Nawab Muhammad Bahadur Khan (ex-Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung) from Kashmir by the State Government when he had come to preside over the annual session of the Muslim Students Union.

In 1943, when there was the great famine in Bengal, an amount was collected and sent in November 1943 to the Bengal Relief Camp of the Punjab Muslim Leauge for onward transmission to Bengal. In June 1943, the Study Circle of the MSU was set-up at a Maharaja Bazar, Amira Kadal, Srinagar. Five dailies, seven weeklies and seven other periodicals are received by the Study Circle and meetings are held to discuss the national affais. On 1st September, 1943, a Library of the MSU was set up. Public meetings were held in important national days this time also.

The Commission of Enquiry, set up by the Government, sent a questionnaire about political reforms to the Students Union, to which replies were sent in detail. It was, however, made clear that no trust could be had in the Commission because it did not include any Muslim representative.

On 19th December, 1943, the entry of the daily *Dawn*, organ of the Muslim League, in College reading rooms was banned. The Union protested against it but then the Government, issued a press note on February 10, 1944, that *Dawn* has ceased to come to the Amar Singh College Library and that too because the subcription had come to an end. But this was a lame excuse and the paper is not received now by the other College reading rooms either.

The All India Muslim Students Federation proposed to set up an all India State Muslim Students Federation. Two organising secretaries will be included in it from Jammu and Kashmir. The strength of the

Union is now 2113 and branches have been set up, besides Srinagar, in Baramual, Bi Jbihara, Islamabad, Sopore, Muzaffarabad, Jammu and Mirpur. There are 32 primary branches in different districts. Last year, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas Khan, President of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and later on Mian Bashir Ahmad, member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League (later on Pakistan's first ambassador to Turkey) visited the central office of the Muslim Students Union.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN THE ANNUAL SESSION (1944)

In the first resolution, moved by Khurshid Hasan and seconded by Ghulam Hasan Sangeen, the Muslim Conference President, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas was assured of full support for the programme of the Muslim Conference.

The second resolution, moved by Muhammad Amin Haider seconded by Muhammad Amin Pandit, warned the Government against its designs to introduce Hindi Language in the schools and said that nobody wanted this language and its scripts in Kashmir and Government should withdraw the orders, which were an unnecessary burden on the exchequer.

The third resolution, was a detailed one about the system of education in Kashmir. It was moved by Ghulam Mohiuddin (Later Mohiudden Shawl, M.P. India) and seconded by Khurshid Hasan. It said that the system of education only produced clerks and teachers and the education was very costly.

The first session was presided over by Mr. Muhammad Abdullah, Vakeel B.A., LLB., when it was over, the second session started at 9.20. P.M. with Mr. Khurshid Hasan in chair.

The 4th resolution, moved by Muhammad Siddique, and seconded by Mir Abdul Aziz demanded that military training be imparted to the students of Jammu and Kashmir and a military training instutute be opened in Srinagar for this purpose. It was also demanded that a Techincal Education College be opened in the State.

The 5th resolution, moved by Khurshid Hasan and seconded by Muhammad Saeed Khan Nasim, demanded the re-entry of the Muslim newspapers of India in the educational institutions of Jammu and Kashmir, which had been discontinued, by orders of the authorities.

It appeared that the Government had deliberately stopped the subscription to the Muslim newspapers and periodicals from the schools, colleges, and public libraries.

THE SINISTER CIRCULAR OF THE HOME MINISTER

In the spring of 1945, the Minister Home, and Education, Wazir Ganga Ram sent a circular to all Schools and Colleges that politically active students organisations be banned. The Muslim Students Union took strong exception to this circular becuase Hindu Principal, like B.K. Madan of the S.P. College started crushing the Muslim Students Union in their institutions. The General Secetary of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Students Union, Mir Abdul Aziz, issued a detailed statement to the press on 12th May, 1945, urging the Minister and the Government to withdraw the circular. The Principal of the S.P. College thundered that he would not allow the Muslim Students Union to exist in his College. The General Sceretary sent a circular to the Students Union branches in the whole State and even to Lahore and Aligarh Muslim Students Federations requesting them to condemn the orders of the Kashmir Minister for Home. Ultimately, the Minister was forced to send a circular to all educational institutions, informing them that the previous circular should not be understood to mean that there was any ban on the Kashmir Muslim Students Union.

The Muslim Students Union continued its activities in favour of the Muslims of Kashmir, especially the students community. When the "Quit Kashmir" movement was launched by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in May 1946, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah urged the Kashmiri Muslims to remain aloof from it and that is what the Muslim of Kashmir did.

The meeting of the Muslim Students Union was held on 20th June, 1946, one month after the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. A resolution was moved by the general secretary and passed by the majority of the members under the Chairmanship of Khwaja Abdul Ghani M.A. Edinburg, urging the masses of Kashmir not to take part in the movement of Sheikh Abdullah and continue to work for the ideal of freedom of Kashmir.

On 15th July, 1946, the Maharaja called a *durbar* of his loyalists whose propose was to support the *status quo* in Kashmir. The Muslim Students Union General Secretary characterised the policy of the Maharaja's Government as hopeless as the demands of the Muslim Conference, the representative organisation of the Muslim of the State, had been ignored by the Maharajah.

The students of the Muslim Community in Jammu and Kashmir, have thus played a glorious and active role in the politics of Jammu and Kashmir. In the Valley of Kashmir in particular, where there was the joint repression of the Dogra ruler, the Hindu Community, the Pandits and last but not the least of the gangsters of the National Conference, the Muslim students faced the odds bravely as they are doing even now in Kashmir in the face of the combined might of 6 lakhs Indian army and paramilitary troops.

The impact of the visit of Quaid-i-Azam to Kashmir was wonderful. The Muslim Conference leaders tried to benefit from the impact, but in Jammu province, not in the Valley of Kashmir, where Muslim Conference activities were needed most.

With the help of the Hindu regime of Jammu and Kashmir, more than 200 prominent members of the Muslim Conference were involved in criminal cases, the reasons of which have been described in the chapter on the Muslim Students Union. The hostile demonstration held against the "river procession" of Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, shattered the myth of the popularity of Sheikh Abdullah. One of the Muslim Conference leaders, who was travelling in a tonga, was beaten and wounded by the National Conference on 1st August, 1945, thinking that he had something to do with the demonstrations. When Qureshi Muhammad Yusuf was taken by his friends to the Sadr Hospital, Srinagar, Abdullah visited him there, not to offer sympathy to him, but to abuse him and threaten him. When Abdullah was coming out of the room to the Sadr Hospital where Qureshi was admitted for treatment, the writer of these lines was on way to that room. I recognised Abdullah but he did not recognise me, as I had never met him. I asked Qureshi what Abdullah told him. Poor Qureshi said that instead of expressing sympathy, he has hurled abuses and threats on him.

On the same day, says Prem Nath Bazaz, Abdullah addressed the funeral prayer meeting of Salam Darzi (who the National Conference claimed was their man and had been murdered by his namesake Abdussalam Dallal of the Muslim Conference) and said: "The people should form a strong organisation and be ready to murder." The speech and these words of Sheikh Abdullah, on 4th August 1945, appeared in the Urdu daily *Khidmat* of Srinagar, which was the official organ of the National Conference of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah.

All the persons who were arrested as a squel to the riots of 1st August belonged to the Muslim

Conference. No National Conferencite was arrested at all. This was the result of the unholy alliance of the National Conferencites with the regime of Rai Bahadur Ramchandran Kak, who was the first Kashmiri in 99 years of the Dogra rule who had been made a Prime Minister by the Maharaja. The daily *Hamdard* of Prem Nath Bazaz wrote a strong editorial against the partial attitude of the Government. On this pre-censorship was imposed on the *Hamdard*, which was condemned in a joint statement by as many as fifteen editors, including *The Kashmir Times, Khalsa Gazette, Waqt, Millat, Jauhar, Roshni, Martand, Such, Chand, Kashmir Chronicle, Ujrat, Sudhark, Islah, Alburq and Hamdard*. The *Javed* of Jammu was also subjected to precensorship.

The National Conference had in the meantime adopted the "New Kashmir" as its manifesto in 1944. It was authored by B.P.L. Bhedi, Dr. M.D. Taseer, and other pro-Communists and Communists. It was a replica of the Constitution of the USSR.[77]

After receiving the thrashing by the Muslim of Kashmir on 1st August, 1945, the National Conferences held their annual session in Sopore, which was also addressed by Pandit Nehru and Ghaffar Khan. They were all praise for Sheikh Abdullah, whom they had chosen as their stooge to damage the Muslims of Kashmir and of the subcontinent.

OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF MUSLIM LEAGUE IN ELECTIONS[78]

The elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures took place in British India and the Muslim League turned the tables on the so-called Indian "National" Congress.

The elections to the 30 Muslim Constituencies of the Central Assembly were held in December 1945. The Congress did not set up its own candidates against the

Leaguers, but lent its support to the candidates of the Ahrar, the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, the Mumin Conference, the Shia Conference and the Unionist Party. But the Muslim League, along with all its top leaders, like Jinnah and Liaqut Ali Khan, were crowned with success. The Quaid-i-Azam was opposed by Huseinbhai Lalji, who was contesting on the ticket of the "Shia Political Conference", but this opponent of the Quaid got only 127 votes as against the winner, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who received thousands of votes.

Elections of the Provincial assemblies were completed by the end of February 1946. These elections also gave surprises to those who had eyes to see and ears to hear. Even G.M. Sayyed was defeated in Sind. The result of the elections were as follows:

Constituency	Muslim total Seats	Muslim League	Congress	Others	Percentage
Central Assembly	30	30	-	-	100%
Assam	34	31	3	-	91%
Frontier	38	17	19	-	45%
Punjab	86	79	-	7	91%
Sind	35	28	-	7	80%
United Provinces	66	54	4	8	82%
Bengal	119	112	-	5	96%
Bihar	40	35	-	-	85%
C.P	14	14	-	-	100%
Orissa	4	4	-	-	100%
Madras	29	28	1	-	97%
Bombay	30	30	-	-	100%

The results unnerved the enemies of the Muslim Leauge and in fact the enemies of the Muslim Nation. Except in the NWFP, the Muslim League achieved tremendous success in the elections in the Central and Provincial Assemblies of the sub-continent. Its claim that it was the **Only Representative Party** of the ten crore Muslims of the South Asia was now unchallenged. NWFP also followed suit when, on the insistance of the Congress, a referendum was held in this province, as also in the Sylhet district of Assam, on the question of accession to India or Pakistan. There were rejoicings in Kashmir and there was no doubt that Abdullah, the chief agent and stooge of the Hindu Congress would meet the same fate in Kashmir as the Congress met in the whole of India.

In was at this stage that the National Conference leaders felt that defeat was to be their share if the elections to the Legislative Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir were held.

It was after the visit of the Quaid-i-Azam to Kashmir that the "dyarchy" system of Government had been adopted by the Maharaja. The National Conference, which professed that there would be a socialist and democratic revolution in Kashmir, sold itself for one ministership. One of its members in the Assembly, Afzal Beg, was made a minister. A Hindu from Jammu, Wazir Ganaga Ram, was also made to minister. The National Conference leaders enriched themselves and their partymen for quite some time on the loaves and fishes of power, but this affected their credibility in the eyes of the public. Sharing of power in an unrepresentative Government, and the National Conference oppostion to the Pakistan demand, distanced the party from the common people, 78 of whom were and are Muslims.

Abdullah's personal popularity also went down the drain. It was a sight to see Sheikh Abdullah, who in the hey-day of his leadership was called *Sher-i-Kashmir* and all that, and whose announcement that a public meeting would be held at such and such a place would draw thousands of people to the site, had nobody to listen to his sermons in the city of Srinagar. Since, he had done the attire of a socialist comrade, he had formed associtions of *tonalagaws*, drivers and some sections of the labour class. But even they were wonderstruck, rather thunderstruck to find that the Congress which claimed to be the only power in India after the British, had been exposed as a Hindu organisation. The Muslims of Kashmir, even those who had some regard for the past services of Abdullah, considered him a stooge of the Congress now.

Abdullah and Party found that ground had already slipped from under their feet. They thought of some new plan to regain their lost prestige.

"QUIT KASHMIR" AGITATION

A row was picked up with the Prime Minister, who had given them the share of power, by the National Conference leaders, that the National Conference Minister, Mirza Afzal Beg, should get the portfolio of education, so that the party could make more money by appointments and promotions in the schools in the State. Even the Maharaja was not in a mood to give more departments to the Minister of the National Conference. The Maharaja feared that by conceding to the request of the National Conference, which was now known as the party of gangsters and looters, would make the Government more unpopular. Though, the Nationalists of Kashmir benefited from the ministership monetarily and the contractors got large contracts from the PWD, the party itself realised that politically, sharing power in the feudal regime had done no good to it. It was in this situation that on 18th March, 1946, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beg resigned from the ministership.

But Premier Ramchandra Kak retaliated by making Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, leader of the Assembly group of the National Conference, a minister in place of Afzal Beg. This was too much for Abdullah to bear. He sought an interview with the Maharaja, who was at that time in Bombay. The Sheikh wanted to persuade the Maharaja to take action against the Prime Minister and give more power to the National Conference minister. The ego of Abdullah was hit hard when the Maharaja refused to receive him.

During his friendship with the Maharaja, Abdullah used to say (despite his socialist manifesto of New Kashmir") that he wanted responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja Bahadur (the words used in Urdu were "*zeri sayah* (under the shadow) of Maharaja Bahadur." But when he found that the Maharaja was not even prepared to grant him an interview, he flew into a rage and after consultation with his Communist friends from Lahore, sent a Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission of the United Kingdom, which arrived on 24th March 1946 in New Delhi. Abdullah, who used to say that he would shed his own blood at a place where the sweat of the Maharaja would fall, questioned in the memorandum the right of the Maharaja to rule Jammu and Kashmir. He said that the very Treaty of Amritsar, dated March 16, 1846, which had made Gulab Singh, the great grandfather of Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, was unacceptable to the people of Kashmir as they were not consulted when the Treaty was concluded away from Kashmir in Amritsar between the Raja of Jammu and the British East Indian Company's representatives.

The Cabinet Mission was headed by Lord Pethic Lawrence, Minister of State for India.

The Cabinet Mission had come to discuss with the South Asian leaders the question of freedom of the sub-continent. The question of the future of the native states, ruled by rajas, Maharaja and nawabs, was not on the agenda of the Cabinet Mission. Abdullah, in his memorandum, said that the people of the native states, not the rulers, had the right to rule the native states. After sending the memorandum, he started a compaign to regain his lost glory in right earnest.

From 10th to 16th May, 1946, he delivered speeches full of fire and venom against the ruling dynasty of Kashmir, saying that they had no right to rule Kashmir, that the Maharaja should quit lock stock and barrel and go to Jammu, his ancestral home. Slogans of "*Dogra raj Murdabad*" (Down with the rule of the Dogras" and slogans aganist the person of the ruler rent the air. The most used slogan was *Bayanama Amritsar ko tore do, Kashmir ko chhore do*: which meant: "Tear down the sale deed of Amritsar, and quit Kashmir."

Abdullah had hoped that, awed by his threats, the Maharaja would send for him and accede to his request for more power and loaves and fishes in the administration. But the Maharaja did nothing of the sort and decided to arrest Sheikh Abdullah. When Abdullah came to know of this, he left Srinagar for India. Even Pandit Nehru was worried about the new posture of Abdullah and asked Abdullah to come down to Delhi. Nehru felt that Abdullah was helping in undoing the plans of the Congress about Kashmir because the Maharaja could be offended and could take an extreme step, which would be against the aims and mission of the Hindu Congress.

Abdullah left Srinagar for Delhi by road to meet his menter, Nehru, but was intercepted at Garhi Dopatta, now in Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir and taken into custody. Next day, after hearing of the arrest of Abdullah, the National Conferencites started the Quit Kashmir movement on the pattern of the Quit India Movement of the Congress. It was very interesting that while the Congress had asked the British to quite India and go back to UK, Abdullah and his party asked the Maharaja to quit Kashmir and go back to Jammu, which was and is the home of the Maharaja and his clan and a part and parcel of the State. The Maharaja and his tribe, the Dogra, after all, were State subjects.

Three hundred workers and members of the National Conference, along with their leaders, were arrested. Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad and G.M. Sadiq, (who later on became Prime/Chief Minister of Kashmir after Abdullah was dismissed and imprisoned, in post-partition days), left for Lahore, so that they could lead the campaign aganist the Maharaja in the Punjab and Indian press. Sadiq was a communist and had contacts with the Communist party at Lahore and his going to that city was important from that point of view also.

When there were demonstrations against the arrest of the leaders, the Dogra army swang into action. Prem Nath Bazaz, writes in the *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*. "The Dogra military misbehaved themselves. They perpetrated excesses on both Hindus and Muslims, on Nationalists and Non-Nationalist. All people passing through any street or crossing a bridge where troops were stationed had to raise their hands high and shout the slogan: "*Maharaja Bahadur Ki Jai*" (Victory to the brave Maharaja). Several shops were looted on mere pretence that the owners did not sell goods to militarymen even when the soldiers offered the full prices. Many innocent persons were beaten and molested on suspicion of being agitators. When, however, these things were brought to the notice of Kak (the Prime Minister) he issued instructions to the military command that such objectionable practices should stop at once. Thereafter, matters did improve a good deal but militarymen here and there continued to be the source of trouble till they remained posted anywhere. The slogan "Quit Kashmir" was enough to ruffle the martial spirit of the Dogra soldier."

Ramachandra Kak, the Prime Minister, disclosed to the *Hindustan Times* (27th May, 1946) that the government had, in fact, been waiting for the National Conference to resort to such an agitation. This is why the police and army tried to crush the movement with a heavy hand. Within a week, it was felt even by the National Conference leaders that the movement had not succeeded as it should have. The reason was that the Hindu Congress, which had a soft corner for the Hindu Maharaja, did not own the movement. The Congress was, in fact, annoyed by the movement of Sheikh Abdullah and this is why is did not support the movement. In fact, the Congress leaders tried that Abdullah should modify his slogan and say that he and his party were fighting not against the person and the tribe of the Maharaja but against the undemocratic and unrepresentative government. It was on 27th May, 1946, that, in a statement to the press, Pandit Nehru said that he had been asked about his views regarding the Quit Kashmir Movement based on the Treaty of Amritsar, but he was to explain that the policy of the All India States Peoples Conference is the same as it was, and that was the establishment of responsible government in the states, *under the rulers thereof*. He said that the National Conference headed by Sheikh Abdullah was also of the same policy. But the situation in Kashmir is such that if responsible governments are not formed in the native states, the presence of the native rulers as constitutional rulers would also not be tolerated."

Pandit Nehru exaggerated the events that took place in the Valley as a sequal to the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. Prime Minister Ramchandra Kak refuted the claim about killing and said that only eight person had been killed.

On 7th June, a deputation of Pandits of Kashmir met Pandit Nehru and explained to him that his accusation against the Kashmir regime were exaggerated.

On this, Nehru corrected his own earlier statement and said allegation in his statement that the bodies of those who were killed were burnt with petrol, were incorrect. He regretted his own statement.

Regarding the involvement of communists in the agitation, Nehru said that different stories about the activities of communists were well-known. He said there was no doubt that some communists had worked in the Kashmir agitation, but it was not correct that the movement in Kashmir was the result of the activities of the communists.

About the Communist involvement in the Kashmir agitation of 1946, Mrs. Bilqis Taseer, wife of Dr. Muhammad Din Taseer, in her book named *Kashmir of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah*, wrote that there was a broad hint that they were involved.[79]

She has admitted that her husband and the well-known Communist B.P.L. Bedi were the co-authors of the New Kashmir manifesto of the National Conference.[80]

More clear on this point was the weekly *Javed* of Jammu, edited by the late Allah Rakha Saghar which supported and Kashmir Muslims Conference which expressed the fear that the communist friends of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah wanted to make Kashmir a springboard of their activities for penetration into the subcontinent.

The Muslim Conference, as aganist the quit Kashmir slogan of the National Conference gave the Kashmir Muslims the programme of **Azad Kashmir**, which demanded the formation of Constituent Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir, to frame the constitution of a free Kashmir. It was demanded that the autocratic system of rule in Kashmir should end and the people of the State should be enabled to decide all their problems themselves.

The leaders of the Muslim Conference, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and A.R. Saghar, met the Quaid-i-Azam and apprised him of the views of the Muslim Conference about the events in Kashmir. The Quaid-i-Azam, in his statement on June 18, 1946, said that Pandit Nehru was the chief of the All India States Peoples Conference, while Sheikh Abdullah was the head of the National Conference. Mr. Jinnah said that Nehru had clarified that quit Kashmir was not the slogan of the States Peoples Conference and it was also not the creed of the National Conference. The Quaid said it seemed that the movement was the doing of some individuals in their personal capacity, who were supported by few people in Kashmir.

It is to be noted that even Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, the righthand man of Sheikh Abdullah, after meeting Nehru, and other Congress leaders in June, 1946, in Delhi, said in a statement, quoted by Prem Nath Bazaz on page 258 of his book "the National Conference demanded the establishment of a responsible government in the State" and "did not desire to harm the royal family in any way". He even got a new draft, palatable to the Congress leaders, and the Hindu public, of a speech, purported to have been delivered by Abdullah before his arrest, prepared and published in the columns of the Congress press in which the compromising interpretation was given.

Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, in his *Kashmakash* (page-240) rightly says that (when the leaders of the National Conference made it clear that the movement was not directed against the person of the Maharaja) received financial assitance from the Congress, and communists did the underground work for the agitation. Chaudhry Sahib expressed surprise that the Muslim Press of Lahore also started supporting the fraudulent movement of Sheikh Abdullah.

He had also clarified that before Abdullah started the movement, talks had been started between the National Conference and the Muslim Conference for some joint strategy, but before the talks could succeed, the National Conference precipitated the movement, while the Muslim Conference had made clear that if the National Congress started any movement independently, the Muslim Confernce would not be responsible for it.

Chaudhry Sahib says that while on one hand, the Congress leaders were talking to the Muslim Conference, Sheikh Abdullah was also making promises to Pandit Nehru. And when the trial of Sheikh Abdullah started, it seemed that the entire defence had been entrusted by the Sheikh to Pandit Nehru. As regards the underground agitation, it was completely in the hands of the communists. On the one hand Abdullah assured Nehru that he was with the Congress, but when he met the communists, he assured them that he was one of them. The officiating President of the National Conference (Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad) had said in his statement that the party was sailing in three boats, simultaneously. The Working Committee of the Muslim Conference thus reached the conclusion that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and his friends were as usual playing in the hands of the enemies of Islam and Pandit Nehru was supporting them because he wanted that adjacent to the North Western Frontier Province, there should a Muslim state which was more than one and a half of the NWFP, should join hands with NWFP, and a strong anti-Pakistan block should be able to snatch six more seats of Muslims in the Constituent Assembly, and in this manner, the Congress infested Muslim block should become a carbuncle and an oozing sore on the back of the North Western Pakistan.

Chaudhry Sahib writes that Communist Party could not get any foothold in any part of the subcontinent, but it is trying to avail of the opportunism of the National Conference and be able to use Kashmir as a springboard of international Communist movement as it is a neighbour of the Communist Russia.

The Muslim Conference Working Committee, says Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, opined that it is better known to Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah whether he wanted to side with the Congress or with the Communist Party, but this much is certain that his thinking is against the Muslims, against the right path of the Ummah and destructive for Muslim unity. In this situation, when Abdullah is half Communist and half Congressite, Muslims are not ready to support him and make Kashmir an Azerbaijan for Pakistan or the second Frontier Province of India.[81]

The Muslim Conference Working Committee urged Sheikh Abdullah to abandon this attitude and subject his politics to the wishes of the ten crore Muslims of India; the Muslim Conference was even now prepared to own him up.

According to Chaudhry Sahib, he tried his best to make the editors of the Muslim newspapers of Lahore realise that their support to the movement of Sheikh Abdullah was not in the interests of the Muslims of Kashmir and of the subcontinent, but his pleading fell flat on most of them. The daily *Inquilab* of Ghulam Rassol Mehr and Abdul Majid Salik had tilted in Muslim Conference's favour, but now, even their attitude was changed.

Sheikh Abdullah's agitation was for regaining the lost glory and he took the extreme step of challenging the heriditary rule of the Dogra dynasty, but when he found that Congress was not favouring him to that extent and that the Communist supporters had not enough power to help him out, he modified his stand and said in the court itself, that he was not against the Maharaja, but wanted responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja. But this did not help him in coming out of jail. The court, however, took a lenient view of his case and he was sentenced to a lesser period that he would have had if he persisted in his slogan of Quit Kashmir etc.

The Judge trying him, says Bazaz, was constrained to remark in his verdict:

"The accused said in defence that the purpose of his speech was to demand the establishment of responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja, but the facts on record do not support this. Good sense returned to the accused on sound advice, but then it was too late and the mischief had been done."

"And when the judgement was announced and Adbullah was awarded three years rigorous imprisonment. The fraud of the Quit Kashmir Movement had been exposed and the bluff called off."

Lot of work was done by Prem Nath Bazaz and his supporters in exposing the Quit Kashmir Movement. Mr. Bazaz comments that the excesses of the Dogra soldiers, the anti-demorcratic actions of Premier Kak to totally suppress the urge of freedom among the people, the jubiliation of the reactionary and communal Hindus at the dismal failure of the Quit Kashmir agitation, collectively helped the Nationalists to gain some ground which they had lost during the past five years in the country. This unnerved the top-ranking leaders of the Muslim Conference. Some of them consulted Jinnah. It was reported that he firmly advised that the Muslim Conference should in no way directly or indirectly lend its support to the agitation. The League President was of the opinion that as the Quit India Movement had been started by the Congress with the dual purpose of overthrowing British Rule and annihilating the Muslim League, similarly the aim of the Quit Kashmir agitation was to coerce the Maharaja to recognise the National Conference as the sole representative of the State people in utter disregard to the popularity of the Muslim Conference among the Kashmir Muslims. Subsequently, Quaid-i-Azam issued a statement declaring that the Kashmir Muslims did not support the Quit Kashmir movement, but at the same time, he advised the Maharaja to remove the grievances of his subjects.[82]

As the Quit India Movement was a challenge to the Muslim League, in the same manner the "Quit Kashmir" agitation was a challenge to the Muslim Conference of Kashmir, Mr. Jinnah came out victorious in the ordeal. During the period of the clash of the Congress and the British rulers, he organised the Muslim League in every nook and corner of British India and refused to be taken in by the tricks and strategy of the Hindu Congress. Here was an opportunity for the Muslim Conference to organise itself, when there was a clash between the Kashmir regime and the party of Abdullah. But the Muslim Conference leaders did not rise to the occasion as they should have done. They courted arrest in October 1946, which was out of tune and not in keeping with the expert advice of the Quaid-i-Azam. This jail going of the Muslim Conference leaders helped Abdullah indirectly and he has claimed in his autobiography *Aatashe Chinar* that Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas went to jail in October 1946 in my support "*meri himayat mein*" are the words.[83]

Mr. Yusuf Sarraf, a former Chief Jusitce of Azad Kashmir High Court of Judicature, who was also general secretary of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (acting general secretary before 1947 and general secretary in Pakistan) quotes from the autobiography of Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas that Chaudhry Sahib informed the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference that Quaid-i-Azam was against the participation of the Muslim Conference in the Quit Kashmir agitation. Sarraf's own opinion is that the "individual direct action" which landed Abbas and a couple of his party men in jail in 1946, was suicidal for the Muslim Conference.[84]

A delegation of the Muslim Conference leaders led by Chaudhry Hamidullah, acting president, comprising Syed Nazir Husein Shah, Kh. Sanaullah Shamim and Ch. Rahim Daad met the Quaid-i-Azam. "The Quaid-i-Azam was unhappy with the decision of Ch. Ghulam Abbas to get himself arrested and told the deputation that this had happened against his directions. He told them that at a time when momentous decisions were being taken, with regard to transfer of power by the

British, there was no sense in either launching a movement or going to jail. The Quaid-i-Azam asked the leaders to return to the State and do their best to win as many Assembly seats as possible."

That great damage was done to the Kashmir freedom movement by the half-hearted policies of the Muslim Conference in 1946-47, goes without saying. Mr. K.H. Khurshid, the former secretary to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and later President of Azad Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, wrote in the weekly *Guardian* Lahore in March 1950.[85]

"During the Quaid-i-Azam's stay in Kashmir, the Muslim Conference movement received a strong impetus. He attended two sessions of the Muslim Conference and exposed the tactics of Sheikh Abdullah, warned both Hindus and Muslims against him. Mr. Jinnah entered the Valley from the Banihal route (South) and departed from the Jhelum Valley Road (North), the whole of Kashmir resounding to his call to strengthen the Muslim Conference."

The same article laments: "The activites of the Muslim Conference during this period are underlined by one salient factor, the absence of any clear thinking on the part of the Muslim leadership. If the objective was Pakistan, as professedly no doubt it was, there was no planning to meet the heavy undertaking. There was no well thought-out line of action or programme, or for that matter any programme which could bring the realisation of the ideal any nearer."

"It goes without saying that position of Kashmir was radically different from that of the other princely states. The policy of the All-India Muslim League though one of constitutional non-interference in the internal politics of the States, everywhere, Muslim organisations were encourged. Everywhere, they were advised to carve out for themselves a policy that would be beneficial to and in the best interests of the Muslim population.

These organisations were not subject to the discipline and control by the All-India Muslim League."

Mr. Khurshid adds: "The position of the Kashmir Muslims was very intricate but hopeful. Intricate as they had a strong adversary in the person of Sheikh Abdullah, whose stronghold, unfortunately, was the Valley, which is the only chunk of the State territory where one half of the total population is concentrated."

"His headquarters were in Srinagar, the summer capital, the biggest city of the State with a ninety percent Muslim population, while the Muslim Conference leadership seldom came out of Jammu, which although the winter capital, had been for centuries the center of Dogra militarism and where the Muslim population did not go beyond a paltry twenty five per cent and which had the look of no more than a district town.

Mr. Khurshid writes with anguish:

"The history of the Muslim Conference is soon told for the remaining two years, 1945 and 1946. In the latter year as Sheikh Abdullah courted arrest under the Quit Kashmir Movement, the Muslim Conference leadership was flabbergasted. Here was yet another opportunity and a clear field, a government hostile to the National Conference and the backing of an All-India organistaion which had at that time acquired international fame after the failure of the first Simla Conference and the unprecedented sweep at the polls. But shutting their eyes completely to the background, the top leadership of the Muslim Conference decided to follow Abdullah's course. They also courted arrest, under a "programme of individual *satyagraha*" .

"There was no issue involved. The issue of the October (1946) session was not Pakistan. It was not responsible government. It was a small ban imposed by a petty District Magistrate. What is more, by taking themselves into jails, the Muslim Conference were not free to take any of the three courses mentioned above.

The three courses mentioned by Khurshid were:

1. To crush all opposition and forge a united front of the Muslims.
2. To create conditions so as the Maharaja was forced to accede to Pakistan.
3. To resort to arms and force the issue.

The Muslim Conference tried none of these. "These were conditions," remarks Khurshid, "When the crescent rose on the Northwest of the subcontinent, the Muslims of Kashmir became the victims of their own guards."

Khurshid further says that when the issue of the future of Kashmir cropped up, there was nobody to lead the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir as their leaders had landed themselves in the jails.

Guidelines were sent to Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas by a letter when he along with the General Secretary of the Muslims Conference, Agha Shaukat Ali, was in Riasi jail. These were in the historic months of 1947, which preceded the Indian invasion of Kashmir. But the General Secretary, of course with the consent of his leader and President of the Muslim Conference, wrote back to the Private Secretary of the Quaid-i-Azam, that Chaudhry Hamidullah, the acting President of the Muslim Conference and Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah, the Chairman of the Committee of Action, could not implement the plan, as there was infighting between the two leaders, one from Jammu and the other from the Valley. The best thing was to pressurise the Kashmir government to release the two leaders, that is Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and Agha Shaukat Ali from jail and as freemen, they could do something about the guideline sent to them in jail.

The Quaid-i-Azam did not issue a statement, urging the Kashmir Government to release the detained leaders, but the Kashmir Government itself at that time was a house divided in itself. The Maharaja had lost confidence on his Prime Minister and under pressure from Lord Mountbatten and Ghandi, was keen to kick out Ramchandra Kak, the first Kashmiri Prime Minister of Kashmir after about one hundred years who, for his own reasons, did not want acessions of Kashmir to India or Pakistan. The Maharaja was gaining time and had delayed the accession issue by entering into "standstill agreement" with the Pakistan. India had refused to enter into the agreement. Thus, the top leaders of Kashmir and Jammu could not be freed. The great leader of the Muslims of subcontinent, Muhammad Ali Jinnah's hands were full whith unprecedented issues. Conspiracies were hatched before and even after the establishment of Pakistan. The Hindu Congress and the British Governor General wanted to keep Pakistan weak and *minus* Kashmir. The Quaid tried to visit Kashmir, but the Governer General wrote to the Maharaja that he should avoid the visit of Jinnah to Kashmir and instead, should receive M.K. Gandhi, which he did and the conspiracy to make Kashmir part of India was hatched, rather completed, in the first week of August 1947.

Unaware of what the leaders of the Muslim Conference were communicating to the Secretry to Mr. Jinnah. the two groups of the Muslim Conference mentioned aboved, did join hands but that was too late, because the Congress Mountbatten scheme about Kashmir had already started bearing fruit.

CHAPTER VI

GANDHI'S SORDID ROLE

"Gandhi's role in Kashmir is sordid indeed, to say the least. He was designated as the apostle of peace and non-violence. His creed was "*ahimsa promodharma*" (non-violence is the best religion), but from the practical point of view, he was a jumble of contradictions. Thus, while he defended the Arya Samajis who were giving military training to Hindu youths in Hyderabad Deccan, he used to preach his *ahimsa* to the sturdy *Pathans* of the NWFP. In his *masnavi Asrar-i-Khudi*, Iqbal depicted him as a dangerous goat, which wanted the Muslims of India to become non-violent. Unfortunately, in the same poem, Iqbal also categorised Hafiz of Shiraz, the Persian poet as a "goat". This resulted in vehement criticism against Iqbal by the supporters of Hafiz Shirazi, and the result was that Iqbal had to remove the entire poem form the *Asrar-i-Khudi* in the last edition published during his life time.

Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir had taken M.K. Gandhi as his ideal. No doubt, later it was Nehru who was instrumental in giving power and position to Abdullah in Kashmir, but, in his *Aatash-i-Chinar*, Abdullah has come down heavily upon Nehru for dismissing him from Prime Ministership and imprisoning him for a number of years. But in his autobiography Abdullah has all praise for Gandhi.

This is because it was Gandhi whose intervention in Kashmir helped Abdullah's release from jail in 1947, when others had practically failed.

Nehru could not meet the Maharaja as the latter was against him. Earlier Acharya Kriplani had been sent to Kashmir to convince the Maharaja that accession to India was better. But Hari Singh gave a cheque of twenty five thousand rupees to the Congress President and did not make any commitment. Everybody knew that the main impediment in the path of accession of Kashmir to India was Ramchandra Kak, who met the Quaid-i-Azam in July 1947 and assured him that as long as he was there he would see that Kashmir did not join India. The main purpose of the visit of Gandhi to Kashmir, therefore, was to remove Kak and make the path clear for Hari Singh to join India.

The visit of Gandhi to Kashmir was arranged at the highest level by the Indian Governor General, Mountbatten who bluntly asked the Maharaja not to receive Mr. Jinnah and advised him to receive Gandhi. The Maharaja was reluctant, even to receive Gandhi, but the visit was, so to say, thrust upon the Kashmir *darbar*.

When Gandhi was on way to Kashmir, he told a press conference that he had no political aim or purpose in going to Kashmir, that he wanted only to fulfil a promise which he had made to the late Maharaja Pratap Singh, uncle of Hari Singh, at Kumbh *mela*, where the Maharaja had invited him in 1918, to a visit to Kashmir. Gandhi said that he could not fulfil his promise to Pratap Singh since 1919 and was going to Kashmir only to fulfil the wish of the late Maharaja. He said at Hasan Abdal (now in Pakistan) on way to Kashmir that he was convinced that the Treaty of Amritsar of 16th March 1846, which had sold the State of Kashmir to Gulab Singh, the Raja of Jammu was a sale deed (the Hindi word used by Gandhi was *bikri patr*). But when he reached Kashmir, he met the Maharaja when only two more persons were present. They were the Rasputin of Kashmir, the State priest, or *Raj Guru* Sant Dev, and the Maharani Tara Devi, the wife of the Maharaja. What transpired in the meeting is common knowledge now. It is said that when the Maharani, offered a glass of milk to Gandhi he told her that he was not ready to take the milk as the subjects of the Maharaja were "*dukhi*" (in trouble). Finding that his trick and magic was having the desired effect on the ruler of Kashmir, Gandhi asked the Maharaja to release Sheikh Abdullah and remove his Prime Minister Ramchandra Kak. It was impressed upon the Maharaja that his accession to Bharat was imperative for the Hindu trinity *gau*, *Ganga* and *gaitri*, the holy cow, the river Ganges and the sacred thread which all adult Hindus wear under their dress. When the Maharaja promised to do all this, Gandhi took the milk. He went to Begum Akbar Jan Abdullah with the good news that her husband would be a free man soon.

Gandhi acted against what he had said, in fact written, about Kashmir to Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz of Kashmir, in a letter dated May 5, 1943, that is, thirteen years and three months earlier. Pandit Bazaz, then a journalist, had requested the *Mahatma* to say what was the best course for a ruler like Maharaja Hari Singh, whose majority of the subjects were Muslims but he himself was a Hindu. Wrote back Gandhi to Bazaz: Knowing that Kashmir is predominantly Musalaman, it is one day bound to become a Musalman State. Therefore, a Hindu prince can rule it only by not ruling i.e., doing as the Musalaman want him to so or by adbicating in their favour. That is the ideal. What is expedient is more than I can judge.[86]

Comments Mr. Bazaz: "Thirteen years later, incredibly enough, the apostle of truth and non-violence, only a few months after the Congress assumed power, blessed the Indian armies to occupy the State and to defend the Hindu prince against the obvious desire of the State Musalmans. Speaking to the Indian Parliament on March 8, 1949, Premier Nehru revealed:

"Throughout, those few months before Mahatma Gandhi was taken away from us, I conferred with him on many occasions about Kashmir and it was a great happiness to me that I had his blessings to the steps we took".

Mr. Bazaz further says, "Ghandi's noble ideals and high principles were meant for Hitler and Chamberlain whom he persuaded to lay down arms during the Second World War, but not for Congress leaders whom the Mahatma persuaded to invade Kashmir.

Lt. General L.P. Sen, (retired) of the Indian Army author of *Slender was the Thread* who was ordered to go to Kashmir in 1947, says in his book that before he departed from New Delhi for Kashmir to fight the Kashmiri rebels who were against the accession of Kashmir to India, he went to the Mathatma for the latter's *ashirvaad* or blessings which the Mahatma gladly gave.

Gandhi and Nehru's non-communalism and secularism was for the Muslims of the subcontinent, not for the Hindus and his own compatriots. Iqbal had rightly said:

Nigah darad brahman kare khud ra
Namay gooyad bakas asrare khud ra
Biman gooyad ki us tasbih baguzar
Bidooshe khud buran sinnare khud ra

(The Brahman watches his own interests fairly well. He does not reveal his secrets to any body. He tells me: Leave your rosary. But he carries his zunnar (sacred thread) on his own shoulder).

All the years till Pakistan was established by the Muslims as a progressive Muslim State, and even after that, the Hindu leaders like Gandhi and Nehru were never tired of dubbing the Muslims as fundamentalists, reactionaries, obscurantist and enemies of freedom and tolerance. Islam is the most progressive and creative, just and equalitarian system of the world, but Hindus even now say that it is an enemy of freedom and human rights, equality and fraternity.

But let us have a look at the philosophy of life of M.K. Gandhi, who says:

"I can say without the slightest hesitation and yet in all humility that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics, do not know what religion means."

"Thus it will be seen that for me there are no politics devoid of religion. They subserve religion. Politics bereft of religion are a death adder because they kill the soul."

The question arises where was Mr. Gandhi's soul gone when he persuaded the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir, in the name of Hindu *trinity*, to accede to India and not Pakistan against the wishes of the Muslims majority of Kashmir. In fact, at that point of time, even some enlightened and reasonable non-Muslims of Kashmir had opposed the Kashmir Government's policy in favour of India. But Gandhi advised his co-religionist Maharaja to ride roughshod over the wishes and sentiments of the Kashmiri Muslims and accede to India. He had, during the same period, described in Hasanabdal the Treaty of Amritsar, according to which the British East India Company had sold Kashmir to Dogra Gulab Singh, a *bikri patr* (Hindi for sale deed), but Gandhi defended and used the Maharaja of Kashmiri's fake ownership of Kashmir according to that very sale deed. It is interesting to note that while the treaties of the native states rulers with the British paramount power came to an end, those states became technically independent, but not so the Maharaja of Kashmir. Sovereignty in this case could have gone to the Lahore Government, from, whom the British had received Kashmir before the Ignominous Sale Deed of Amritsar. Lahore at that time was ruled by Sikhs and the successors in Punjab of the Sikhs were the Government of West (Pak) Punjab. Legally speaking, Kashmir should have been transferred to the Punjab Government who were the legal and *de facto* successors of the Sikhs regime. Gulab Singh was not the ruler of

Jammu and Kashmir at the time of conclusion of the Treaty of Amritsar on 16th March 1846, but only of Jammu, Ladakh and Baltistan. Even the hilly areas mentioned above were conquered by his General in the name of Sikh empire, whose vassal Gulab was.

Pandit Bazaz says that the Muslims of Kashmir were from the very beginning apprehensive of the intentions of the Hindu leader, who had not come only for sight-seeing or just to fulfil his promise to the Maharaja who had already died in 1924. He was sealing the fate of the poor Kashmiris. He sent a note to Sardar Patel during those days, in which he wrote: "Kak had written to the Maharaja. He will send you a copy. I had an hour with the Maharaja and the Maharani. He agreed that he must follow the will of the people but he did not come to the point. So he sent to me his special secretary to express regrets. He wishes to remove Kak. He is only wondering how. It is almost decided to have Sir Jailal. You have evidently something to do about this. In my view the Kashmir situation can be improved."

It is recorded that when he went to meet Begum Abdullah in Srinagar, Gandhi's car was stoned. When he was on way out he was stoned near Baramula and Sangram. But the news of these stone throwing incident was not published in the Congress Press.

Gandhi left State on 3 August, 1947 and one week after that, Pandit R.C. Kak was removed from Prime Ministership. Obviously, he was the main stumbling block in the path of accession of Kashmir to India. His removal and appointment of Maharaja's maternal uncle, Gen. Janak Singh as Prime Minister, was a great success of the Indians and defeat for the pro-Pakistanis in Kashmir. The Maharaja's reported neutrality was not there now. The Maharaja had exposed himself as a Hindu. Gone were the days when he used to say that his religion in the political sense was *Insaf* or justice.

When the Prime Ministerial change took place, the National Conference people were mighty pleased as they knew the way the wind was blowing. The same people whose slogans were *"Kashmir chhore do"* (Quit Kashmir)" and *Dogra raj murdabad* (down with the rule of the Dogras) raised the slogans: *Maharaja Bhadur Ki Jai* (victory to the brave Maharaja) and of course Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah *Sher-i-Kashmir zindabad* (long live the lion of Kashmir Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah).

All this change come as a sequel to the removal of the Prime Minister Ramchandra Kak.

STANDSTILL AGREEMENT

Almost simultaneously, with the removal of Kak, the Kashmir government offered a standstill agreement to the government of Pakistan and India. The British government had asked the states to decide about their accession to India or Pakistan by 15th August 1947, at the latest. All the rulers except Hyderabad and Kashmir had decided this way or that. Hyderabad was trying to remain independent, but India was not allowing it. The declaration of independence by Hyderabad Deccan would have been a red rag to the Indian bull. The Maharaja of Kashmir was just gaining ground. He wanted to remain independent as well as enjoy the protection of Hindu India from the point of view of defence. But Pandit Nehru wanted his pound of flesh, in the Kashmir game, like the proverbial Jew of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, in the shape of some political power for his stooge and friend Sheikh Abdullah, which the Maharaja was reluctant to concede.

Pakistan at once accepted the offer of standstill agreement, but India dilly-dallied with that. India was keen that some situation should develop in which she could land her troops in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The ouster of Ramchandra Kak was observed by the supporters of Abdullah as their success. They forgot that the Indian rule over Kashmir would be worse than the Dogra rule and the situation of the State could go from bad to worse.

Abdullah, in the meantime, had been trying his best to secure his release. He feared that if the Maharaja joined Pakistan or even remained independent, he would have to remain in jail. He continued to write letters to his friends and well-wishers entreating them to try for his release. A letter was sent to Maharaja Hari Singh through the later's maternal uncle, Mian Nachant Singh, in which Abdullah begged pardon and expressed his loyalty to the Maharaja and said that it was the nasty prime minister Ramchandra Kak who had created the difference between the Maharaja Bhadur and his loyal subject like the Sheikh.

Members of Sheikh Abdullah's family, his son and his wife, have not contradicted or challenged the authenticity of Abdullah's apology (*muafi nama*) to Maharaja Hari Singh, which published by former governor of Kashmir, Yuraj Karan Singh, the son of Hari Singh, in his book "*Heir Apparent*". Karan and Farooq, sons of Hari Singh and Abdullah, are best friends. Karan's son, Ajat Shatru, has been made a minister in his cabinet by Farooq Abdullah and Karan himself, till recently, was the chairman of the Autonomy Committee nominated by Farooq. Farooq did not refute the apology written by his father to Karan'a father in 1947 to secure his own release.

When Mrs. Taseer published her book *Kashmir of Sheikh Abdullah* more than a decade ago, she wrote in that it was incorrect that Abdullah had met the Maharaja when the former was a prisoner. She wrote that the canard spread by Prem Nath Bazaz was concocted by men like Bazaz and it was incorrect that Sheikh Abdullah had met the Maharaja, while the Sheikh was prisoner. She says that Abdullah was released not because he sought the favour of the Maharaja when he was in jail, but because the Maharaja alone could save the State. Begum Taseer wrote that when she went to Kashmir after the death of Abdullah and met begum Abdullah the latter also stated that it was wrong to say that Maharaja had received the Sheikh and the latter sought forgiveness. But the most interesting thing is that Sheikh Abdullah himself has admitted in his book that he had met the Maharaja as a prisoner. The story is best explained by Abdullah himself and is as follows. "The brother-in-law of the Maharaja, whose name was Nichant Chand, met Abdullah in jail and it was arranged that Abdullah would meet the Maharaja and regret having started the agitation against the ruler. Pandit Shyam Sunder Lal Dar, who was the go-between, told Abdullah that at the time of meeting the Maharaja, it was customary to present some gold coins to the Ruler as present, on which Abdullah said to him that he was a prisoner and had no gold coins. Shyam Sunder Lal Dar brought out some gold coins from the pocket and gave them to Abdullah, which the latter presented to the Maharaja as a symbolic of loyalty and fidelity. At that time, the Rani and the would be prime minister Mehr Chand were also present. Abdullah expressed regrets to the Maharaja and assured him that he just wanted reform in the State and did not want to dislodge the Maharaja from his throne. In my review in the daily *Muslim* Islamabad on Bilquees Taseer's book I asked who was right, the author Bilquees Taseer, Begum Abdullah or Sheikh Abdullah himself? Obviously, Sheikh Abdullah was right. In these two pages, Abdullah has also admitted that he was set free and Ghandhi has also told the Maharaja that only Sheikh Abdullah could "save" Kashmir.

TREACHERY THY NAME IS ABDULLAH

Abdullah did not save Kashmir. It was in fact, he who ruined it. He was set free on the condition that he would oppose the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan and work for its accession to India. His son Tariq Abdullah wrote an article in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* in the early seventies and said that he had been destined to oppose Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

When the tribal invasion of Muzaffarbad and the Valley took place, and the Azad Kashmir government was formed. Abdullah fled to New Delhi to save his skin. There he was received by Nehru, by Indira Gandhi, who had her son with her. Abdullah was the guest of Nehru when the Prime Minister of Kashmir Mehr Chand Mahajan came to Pandit Nehru and told him that Kashmir was under invasion from the tribals and Kashmir must be saved. It was October 25, 1947. Justice Mahajan writes in *Looking back* that when the Kashmir Prime Minister requested Nehru to send the Indian army to Kashmir, Nehru dilly-dallied saying that he could not send the army on the request on the Maharaja. On this Mahajan, the Kashmir Prime Minister told him that if aid was not coming from India, then he had orders from the Maharaja to go to Karachi and settle terms with Jinnah. On this Nehru flew into a rage and thundered and asked the Kashmir Premier to get out of his room. When Maharaja stood up, at that time, a chit was received by Nehru from Abdullah who was overhearing the talk of the Prime Ministers in the room nearby, Abdullah wrote to Nehru that army must be sent to Kashmir and that he supported what Justice Mahajan, the Prime Minister of Kashmir was saying. On receiving the chit, Nehru calmed down and asked Mahajan to sit as it were now the people of Kashmir, personified by Sheikh Abdullah, the National Conference head, who wanted the Indian army to be sent to Kashmir. Mahajan writes that he was thankful to Abdullah for this "timely help".

But it is the opinion of political observers and researchers that the whole thing was drama, a farce enacted by Nehru and Abdullah to bargain with the Maharaja and the Kashmir Prime Minster. Abdullah was to be accommodated in the set up of Kashmir to satisfy the ego of Nehru and strengthen the accession of Kashmir to India at the political level.

The fact is that Abdullah did not represent the people of Kashmir at all.

MYTH OF ABDULLAH'S POPULARITY

A section of people in Pakistan also are under the impression that Sheikh Abdullah was the popular leader of Kashmir and in 1947, he led the people of Kashmir into the Union with the India.

The fact is that Abdullah was doubtlessly a popular leader of Kashmir in the early thirties, when he was the standard bearer of Islamic polity, and was heading the Muslim Conference, which was and even now is a party based on the two-nation theory, like the Muslim League. All the slogans of the Muslim Conference were Islamic, including *Allaho Akbar, Islam zindabad and Ittehad bainul Muslimeen zindabad*.

When Abdullah, under the influence of the Indian National Congress, converted himself and the Muslim Conference to Gandhian nationalism, his popularity started going down to the lowest ebb. The visit of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah to Kashmir and the spectacular victory of the Muslim League in the Central and Provincial elections in British India made Abdullah a social and political untouchable and his position was no better than the lame ducks of the anti-League Muslim leaders in India. His association with the Dogra government in lieu of one ministership for his party-man Afzal Beg had made the party most unpopular and it was to regain that popularity that he started the Quit Kashmir Movement against the Maharaja.

In democratic societies, elections are the criterion of the popularity of the political leaders and the parties. Jammu and Kashmir also had a legislative assembly, forty of whose seventy five members were elected. These included twenty one elected Muslims. Election of the Assembly were held first in 1934 and next in 1937. In both these elections, the Muslims Conference of which Abdullah was also a leader won the majority of the elected Muslims seats. Then, because of the second world war and the machinations of the pro-government leaders of Kashmir elections were delayed and ultimately they were held in January, 1947. Abdullah and his friend were in jail and as a result of imprisonment, they had regained a fraction of "popularity" because imprisonment was considered a certificate for leadership, according to some people. But even then the National Conference, though it submitted nomination papers and cash securities under law, did not dare to take part in the elections because it was sure of its defeat. The Muslim Conference and other parties won the elections and Muslim Conference captured the majority of the elected seats of Muslims. All elected Muslim members, collectively and individually, urged the Maharaja not to join in any case. They urged him to refrain from joining India and hold a referendum on the issue of the future shape of things and accession of the State.

There was not a single voice amongst the Muslim members in favour of India, and majority of them were for accession to Pakistan.

The Muslim Conference, whose top leaders had courted arrest, stood divided into two groups, one led by Chaudhry Hamidullah, the acting president and the other by Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah, the chairman of the Committee of Action but both the groups denounced the accession of Kashmir to India and warned the Maharaja to desist from joining India. Other groups, like the Kashmir Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Conference also demanded a referendum on the issue of accession. These groups had also some noted non-Muslims in their ranks.

Sheikh Abdullah was a willing tool in the hands of the Hindus, the Maharaja and the Congress. He himself notes in the autobiography that Lord Mountbatten went to Kashmir as early as June 1947 and tried to win over the Maharaja to accede to India. He assured the Dogra ruler that if he feared that Muslims of Kashmir would revolt against him in case he wanted to opt for India, he would send a brigade or two from New Delhi to crush the Muslims. This is a clear evidence against the impartiality of the last British Governor General of India.

Abdullah also admits that Gandhi had recommended his release from jail to the Maharaja. He has also written in the *Aatash-i-Chinar* that Sardar Patel had sent word to the Maharaja that if he decided to join Pakistan before 15th August, India would not consider it an unfriendly act (p-416).

The Governor General was keen to despatch the Indian troops to Kashmir to help the Maharaja but the latter was undecided for various reasons. The Governor General was not in favour of sending the Indian troops before the Maharaja signed the instrument of accession.

The other obstacle, says Abdullah was the person of Mahtma Gandhi. It was not clear whether Gandhi would support the dispatch of Indian armed forces to Kashmir. Says the Sheikh: "Since I had come to Delhi to seek help from India leaders, I also talked to Gandhiji on this issue. I told Gandhiji that the fighting in Kashmir was not for the sake of land but for the defence of the ideals for which he stood all this life, and which he was defending even now like a rock. He advised Gandhi not to withdraw his support to the forces which were fighting in Kashmir against the raiders. If Gandhiji did not extend his support to us, it would be a great injustice to us and also to the high ideals which we all wished to preserve. Thus, Gandhi very kindly accepted this request and allowed the despatch of Indian troops to Kashmir. The Maharaja had fled from Kashmir to Jammu. What sort of chaos and disorder prevailed in his camp can be gauged from the consultation with the

Maharaja, it was decided that if an airplane could be arranged, we should go to Delhi and seek military assistance, otherwise we should surrender to Pakistan."

The Maharaja, says Adbullah, was so upset that he had directed his ADC and other aides that he should be woken up from his sleep (on 26th October) only if V.P. Menon came, because his arrival would mean that the Indian government had accepted the accession. If not, he should be shot dead in sleep with his own pistol.

Abdullah says that Menon got the signature of the Maharaja on the accession document on 26th October and the returned to Delhi, where Sardar Patel received him at the airport. In those days Jawaharlal was staying in Kothi No.1 of Park Road Delhi and I say Abdullah was also staying with him. When Premier Mahajan met Nehru, he told the latter: "Send the army, take the accession. Whatever power you want, that can be given to the popular party now, otherwise I will go to negotiate terms with Jinnah." This made Panditji angry and he came out of the room, but I cooled him down and assured him that such rage would prove suicidal. Then he resumed his talk with Maharaja and told him that Sheikh Abdullah also agreed with him. Abdullah quotes Mahajan as having written that the timely intervention of Sheikh Abdullah saved Kashmir from going into the hands of Pakistan (page 418). The story of signing of accession instrument by Maharaja is an Indian concoction and has been disproved by Alastair Lamb in his two books.

This is the treacherous role of Sheikh Abdullah, who sided with India and invited Indian army to Kashmir, otherwise Kashmir would have come to Pakistan in October 1947. Mountbatten, in his reply to Maharaja's request and the covering letter of the accession instrument, wrote that the accession was accepted on the condition that when law and order was restored in the State, the accession would be decided by a referendum.

Alastair Lamb has written two books on Kashmir during the last eight years, in which he had proved that the Indian troops landed in Kashmir first and the instrument of accession was signed afterwards. He has also said that the copy of the document of government of India had been lost, otherwise the Indian rulers would have published the photostat or the facsimile of the document during the past half century.

That India planned to send her army and other assistance to the Kashmir long before the actual accession is supported by other evidence. The White Paper on Kashmir, issued by the Government of Pakistan in January 1977, makes interesting disclosures. On July 3, 1947, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, who later become the Deputy Prime Minister of India and had already assumed responsibility for dealing with the accession of the state to India, wrote to the Maharaja that the interest of Kashmir lay in joining the Indian Union and its Constituent Assembly without any delay. "All India looks up to you and expects you to take that decision. Eighty per cent of India is on this side... You must make friends with the leaders of free India who want to be friends with you".

MACHINATIONS OF MOUNTBATTEN

On 13th September, 1947, Patel wrote to Sardar Baldev Singh the Defence Minister of India, "I have received a request from the Kashmir Durbar to arrange for the loan of Lt. Col Kashmir Singh Katoch for services as Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir Forces *vice* Major General Stott who is retiring: you know the difficulties of the State, and I feel that at this *juncture* it would be most useful to have an officer of your own army as Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir Forces.

On 21st September, 1947, Sardar Patel congratulated the Maharaja on the appointment of Mehr Chand Mahajan as the Prime Minister of Kashmir. (Mr.

Mahajan was the Indian Congress nominee on the Radicliffe Commission for Punjab) and stated that he had discussed the situation with Mr. Mahajan. "I can assure your Highness that we will do our best to help your State."

When armed uprising against the Kashmir State by the Muslims assumed a momentum in September 1947, Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India addressed a letter on 27th September to Sardar Patel giving an assessment from the Indian point of view about the State, saying that it was "dangerous and deteriorating." The latter said: "The approach of winter is going to cut off Kashmir from the rest of India. It is therefore, important that something should be done before these winter conditions set in. This means practically by the end of October or, at the latest, the beginning of November. I rather doubt if the Maharaja and his State force can meet the situation by themselves and without some popular help. They will be isolated from the rest of India and *if their own people go against them*." It will be very difficult to meet the situation. It becomes imperative that Maharaja should make friends with the National Conference, so that there might be popular support against Pakistan..." I would again add that time is the essence of the business and things must be done in a way so as to bring about the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union as rapidly as possible with the cooperation of Sheikh Abdullah.

On October 1, a communication was addressed by the Maharaja's Government to Sardar Patel thanking the latter for his help in procuring for the state the loan of wireless equipment for making Srinagar and Jammu landing well-equipped for all-weather air service and a separate self-contained letter i.e., being sent to the Hon'ble Defence Minister for supplying arms and ammunition.

India had no standstill agreement, like Pakistan, with the State of Jammu and Kashmir, but requests were made to the Hindu government in New Delhi by the Kashmir government, but no such request seem to have been sent to Pakistan. Instead, Indian which had almost turned down the request for the agreement, was helping the Kashmir government, in communications, arms and ammunition.

On 7th October, twenty days before the State's accession was claimed to have taken place, Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister of India wrote to his colleague, the Defence Minister of India. "I hope arrangements are in train to send immediately supplies of arms and ammunition to the Kashmir State. If necessary, we must arrange to send them by air."

Gangs of killers and murders were introduced from Indian Punjab and the Hindu states into Jammu and Kashmir to combat the rebellious and even peaceful Muslims. On 17th October the Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir Ramlal Batra, wrote to Deputy Prime Minister of India:[87]

"Operations going on in Poonch necessitate immediate equipment of our forces with full complement of arms and ammunition. I have, therefore, requested the Hon'ble Defence Minister to arrange to release stocks from Delhi immediately and if some have to be obtained from other places, then these may be also sent immediately, by air direct without transhipment at Delhi".

It may be noted that Kashmir government had its customs and if anything was imported from any other country, naturally *via* India, it used to come "under bond" and if transhipment was involved, the Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir, Ramlal Batra, requested that transhipment may not be done, as it would result in delay of the despatch.

Says the White Paper, issued by the government of Pakistan in 1976 (X) Lord Mountbatten's active participation in these transactions between the Indian government and the Maharaja is apparent not only from the letter of 3rd July, 1947, from Sardar Patel to the Maharaja (quoted above) but also from the letter Montbatten addressed to Sardar Patel, on 25th October, 1947. This referred to certain information about the situation in the State, supplied to him by General Rees, who had been the ineffectual overall Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force. The letter ends with these words:

"As General Rees obtained this information on a confidential basis, I would be glad if you could keep this to yourself.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Prime Minister."

All this debunks the Indian claim that the Indian military intervention in Kashmir was a premeditated action. The conspiracy was there from the time Mountbatten visited Kashmir in June to coax and cajole the Maharaja, but since the latter was undecided at that time, he did not meet the Viceroy and pretended that he was down with stomachache and could not see him before the Governor General left Srinagar back for New Delhi. The situation was not only known to Mountbatten, he was very thickly involved in the whole intrigue of tying Kashmir to the chariot wheels of India.

THE PERVERSE AWARD

The White Paper of Pakistan rightly comments, "While India had thus made systematic preparations through fraud and conspiracy, for the incorporation of Jammu and Kashmir into the India Union, there were no counter-moves from Pakistan. The approach of the Founder of State, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was based on the principles of honour and fair play, which had been the anchor-sheet of the movement of Pakistan...driven by the ideology of Pakistan, he had disdained any conspiratorial plot. Pakistan would forfeit its Islamic character if it ever regretted an ethical and honorable response to a situation, however, unpalatable. When the Radcliffe Award was announced, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

"It is an unjust, incomprehensible, and even perverse award.

It may be wrong, unjust and perverse; and it may not be a judicial but a political award, but we have agreed to abide by in and it is binding upon us. As honorable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow, with fortitude, courage and hope."

Professor Alastair Lamb's book. *Birth of a Tragedy*, shows that the award of Lord Radcliffe was not just an individual act. It was manipulated by the Governor General, Lord Mountbatten, to benefit India, with whom he was one in conspiracy against Pakistan and the poor people of Kashmir. The White Paper discloses that the Patiala troops had reached Kashmir ten days before the actual landing of the Indian troops on 27th October, on the pretext of Pakistan having arranged the rebellion in Kashmir. It is to be noted that at that time, Patiala, a State in Indian Punjab. had acceded to India, by 15th August. The accession being for the subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, it was certain that Patiala Army had no more independent existence. It was, from 15th August, a part of the Indian army and subject to the command and discipline of the Indian Army High Command, but still this Army, mostly of Sikhs, was allowed to enter Kashmir, disregarding the fact that it was part of the Indian army. But when the question of sending the Pakistan army rose, it was hindered by the British acting C-in-C of the Pakistan Army, on the plea that the Pakistan army could not be sent to Jammu or Kashmir without the permission of the joint Commandar-in-Chief of Indian and Pakistani forces. Lord Auchnlec.

The poor Kashmiris were helpless at that time, when the representative of the British Crown, Lord Mountbatten, the Indian Government and the Maharaja were hatching conspiracies against them and leaders like Sheikh Abdullah had joined hands with the conspirators for the loaves and fishes of power. But despite all this, the people of Jammu and Kashmir, Poonch and Mirpur, of Gilgit and Baltistan, were raising the slogans of freedom and Pakistan in the press and the pulpit. They were aware of what Iqbal had said, long ago. To quote Iqbal:

Watan ki fikr kar nadaan museebat aanay walee hai
Teri barbadiyoon kay mashwaray hain aasmanoon mein

(Just take care of your homeland, oh ignorant person, a calamity is going to overtake you. There are discussion going on for your destruction in the heavens above).

The Jubilations of the Muslims of Kashmir, Jammu and Poonch, Mirpur and Gilgit, left nobody in doubt that the Kashmiris were in favour of Pakistan and against India. This had been made clear in the *Paraja Sabha* (Legislavtive Assembly session) by the Muslim members, by the pressmen, by the Muslim Conference, by the Kashmir Socialists and the professional organizations like the Kisan Mazdoor Conference. On 15th August, 1947, it being, the last Friday of the holy month of Ramazan, a mammoth public meeting was held in the Jamia Masjid of Srinagar, under auspices of the Muslim Conference, presided over by Mirwaiz Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Shad, and the leaders who spoke warned the Maharaja against acceding to India. He was warned that if Kashmir was forcibly made part of India human blood would flow in the rivers streams of Kashmir in place of water."[88]

The Working Committee of the Muslim

Conference, headed by acting President Chaudhry Hameedullah Khan, on 18th July, 1947, resolved that independence was the best way out for Kashmir, but on the second day, when the General Council met it was made clear that the best thing was to join Pakistan, the safest course for a State which had Muslim majority population. A lengthy and argumentative resolution was passed by the General Council. Smaller parties like the Kashmir Socialist party and the Kisan Conference followed suit and extended similar advice to the Maharaja but all this fell on deaf ears.

Public meetings were held in Srinagar and elsewhere in full blast. It was in the third week of August, precisely on 21st August, 1947 that, the Muslim youths of Srinagar formed a "War Council" and issued a declaration of revolt *ailane baghawat* in form of handwritten posters, which were pasted on walls of homes and shops in Srinagar, urging the people to get ready to resist the Dogra-Indian machinations, and try to overthrow the Government of the Despot.

It was in early August, 1947, that a Red Shirt leader came form NWFP and met the Maharaja and urged him to decide in favour of the State's accession to India. This, relates Rasheed Taseer in his *Tahreeki Hurriyat-e-Kashmir*, issued by Muhafiz Publications, Makhdoom Mandav, Srinagar, would facilitate the linking up of the NWFP with India *via* Kashmir. But the Maharaja was still undecided and was waiting for the Award of the Radcliffe Commission, which would give Kashmir an outlet to India and link the State with Bharat *via* Pathankot in Punjab and Kathhua in the State.[89]

Maharani Tara Devi, to thank and express gratitude to her in releasing the great lion of Kashmir, who was now caged lion.

INDIGENOUS ARMED REVOLT

The indigenous armed rebellion in parts of the State started much earlier than the tribal invasion, which took place on the night of 22nd and 23rd October, *via* Muzaffarabad. The military trained people of the western parts of the Poonch district, who were war veterans, jumped into the fray and thought that if they could fight for the British in lands far and off, why not fight for the freedom of their own homeland from the Dogras, who had grabbad their homeland by deceit and brutal actions more than a hundred years ago.

The incentive for the revolutionary activity was provided by the emergence of Pakistan as a free Muslim State, after more than two hundred years of slavery and lethargy, in the subcontinent, the whole of which was earlier ruled by the Muslims. There was little resistance in some areas by the Dogra troops, but in certain areas the fighting was prolonged and difficult. But the Muslims of these areas faced the enemy on every inch of the land and the part of the State now called Azad Kashmir was liberated after many people laid down their lives for the glory of Islam and the freedom of the State. The fighting in the Northern Areas also was a hard job. The mujahideen lacked material means but their hearts were imbued with the spirit of *Jehad*, or holy war, for the sake of Islam and for the sake of the homeland. The political motivation was also there in form of the freedom struggle which had been going on in the length and breadth of the State for many years in the past.

FREEDOM OF THE SUBCONTINENT AND NATIVE STATES

Freedom was now knocking at the door of the South Asian subcontinent and it was a foregone conclusion that the subcontinent was going to be divided into two independent states, more or less on the basis of two-nation theory.

It was on 20th February, 1948 that the British Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that power was being transferred to the Indian people and he hoped that the Constituent Assembly should be representative of all parties and the power should be transferred according to the Constitution to be drafted by it. The Prime Minister said that it was intended that the power be transferred by June 1948 and if a constitution was not ready by that time, the British Government would have to find out whom to transfer the power, whether to one central government, or to the provincial governments. It was made clear about the native states that paramountcy about them would not be transferred to any government, but that the states, by which were meant the rulers thereof, would become technically independent.

Congress leaders had their fears that the native states, which, large and small, were 562 in number, would prove a hurdle in the path of united India. In circles of the Muslim Conference, and even the Muslim League, the fear was lurking that the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir might declare his accession to India. The Muslim Conference acting President Chaudhry Hamidullah Khan suggested that the Maharaja should declare Kashmir independent and call his own Constituent Assembly. This was in keeping with the policy of the Quaid-i-Azam who had said in more than one statements, appearing in this book, as appendix, that the Maharaja was welcome to join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, or to declare the formation of the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir. It is to be that the idea of a separate Constituent Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir had been flatted by the Muslim Conference when the chief of the party, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas Khan, was still out of jail and the party leaders were united.[90]

But the Hindu Congress leaders were not on good terms with the Maharaja because Abdullah was in jail and the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru had gone out of the way to support him. In order to woo the Maharaja, Acharya Krpplani, the Congress President, came to Kashmir and in order to smoothen the Maharaja, issued a statement condemning those who were raising slogans against the Maharaja of Kashmir and demanding the end of the Treaty of Amritsar, 1846. Delhi, in which the caged lion said that the Maharaja should accede to India immediately and ignore the advice of Ch. Hamidullah.

Than came to 3rd June plan, which gave the plan of division of the subcontinent into two independent dominions. As regards the States, it was made clear that paramountcy over them would not be transferred to the new government(s) of India. The natives states would technically become independent and the sovereignty would revert to them and not to the new State(s), named later as Pakistan and India.

Pandit Nehru was of the opinion that the native states should have no choice except to join India or Pakistan, while the Quaid-i-Azam clearly stated that the native states had three option. If they wanted, they could remain independent. Two statements issued by the Quaid-i-Azam as the President of the Muslim League are very clear about this. It appears from Jinnah Papers that this policy was conveyed to Chaudhry Hamidullah, who met the Quaid-i-Azam, and also to Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and Agha Saukat Ali, who were in Riasi Jail. The letter of Agha Shaukat Ali appearing in Jinnah Papers published by the National Archives, indicates that the President and the General Secretary of the Muslim Conference, who were in jail because they courted arrest in October 1946, wanted to be released so that they could play a part in this respect. The Quaid-i-Azam did issue a statement urging the Kashmir Government to release them, but the statement did not produce the desired effect because of the bureaucratic and short-sighted attitude of the Kashmir Government. The Maharaja, his Prime Minister and others concerned could not see beyond their nose and the result was that one by one, each one of them had to suffer.

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference was held under the Chairmanship of Hamidullah in Srinagar on 18th July, and it was demanded that the Maharaja should not join India and should remain independent. On the second day, the enthusiasts in the Muslim Conference, met as the General Council of the Muslim Conference at the residence of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, barrister-at-law, who was the chief whip of the Assembly party of the Muslim Conference, at the Aabbi Guzar locality of Srinagar and it was demanded that the Maharaja should in no case join India but should join Pakistan because majority of the people were Muslims and what is more, Kashmir had religious, cultural and economic links with Pakistan and it would be in keeping with the wishes and sentiments of the people the State that it should join Pakistan.

Later on, the two groups of the Muslim Conference, led by Ch. Hamidullah and Mirwaiz Muhammad Yusuf, sank their differences and became one. Meetings were started all over Srinagar, the Valley and other parts of the State, in favour of Kashmir joining Pakistan. The popular slogans now was *Kashmir banega Pakistan* which meant the Kashmir would become Pakistan. This was going on throughout the length and breadth of the State, but at the highest level, in the citadels of absolute power, conspiracies against the Kashmir State were in progress. The British Governor General saw to it that majority of the states joined India and not Pakistan.

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY IN THE RUIN OF KASHMIR

The British nation cannot absolve itself from its responsibility for the ruin of Kashmir. They first sold the

Kashmir State to the Dogra ruler of Jammu, Gulab Singh, for hard cash, in 1846 and it was at that time the misfortunes of the people of Kashmir started. Had they kept the Valley to themselves, it would have been a part of the British India and would have got freedom when the British quit the subcontinent.

No doubt, some of them realised that they had done great injustice to the people of Kashmir by selling them to the Dogras, but no amends were made and when the people of Kashmir rose in revolt in 1931, the British did not exert full pressure on the despot Hari Singh, and political freedom came to Kashmir at snail's opace.

The British quit India in haste in 1947 and the fate of Kashmir was again left undecided. In fact, the representative of the British crown in South Asia, was openly on the side of the Hindu Congress and Bharat. He divided the Punjab province of British India in a manner that access was provided to Bharat, to enter Kashmir *via* Pathankot in Kathua. Thus, justification was created for the Maharaja to accede to India, the Hindudom and not to Pakistan. Pressure was also exerted on the Maharaja so that he did not remain independent. The Secretary of State for India in the British cabinet made it clear that if any of the native states which became technically independent according to the June 3, 1948 declaration, decided to remain independent, the British Government would not recognize its independence. The two states, which could and had reason to remain independent, were Hyderabad Decan and Jammu and Kashmir, but this was discouraged, by the British Governor General, though Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, made it clear on Governor General that the States could remain independent. He made more clear that if the Maharaja of Kashmir chose to remain independent, he could do so. And if he wanted to form his own Constituent Assembly, he could do it as well and if he wanted that representatives of his State should join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly he would be welcome. But the

British Governor General of Hindu India was involved in conspiracies and intrigues against Pakistan.

After half a century, the British Labour Party has realised that great injustice was done to Kashmir in 1947, but nothing practical has been done so far. The stand taken on Kashmir by Great Britain after the subcontinent of South Asia went nuclear is, however, worth appreciation. Let us hope that the injustice done to the Kashmiris by the British from 1846 to the present day, will be undone now.

CHAPTER VII

PRO-HINDU MOUNTBATTEN

On 28th July, 1947, about one hundred representatives of the native states, in addittion to seventy rulers, attended a reception held by Lord Mountbatten, the Viceroy of British India. Upto that time many of the rulers of native states had not taken any decision about their accession to this or that (would be) dominion, or about remaining independent. The ADC of the Viceroy took such rulers one by one to the Viceroy, who would take them one by one to Sardar Patel. This was like taking voters to voting booths. The purpose of this exercise was to impress upon the rulers that it was better to join Bharat. By 15 August, out of the 562 native states, only Hydrabad Deccan and Junagarh, and of course Kashmir, had not decided about their accession. The Muslim majority State of Kapurthala in East Punjab had also acceded to India. Others who had not made their decision were, the local states within NWFP, Balochistan and Bahawalpur. This was due to the geographical position of these states.

On 2nd June, Gandhi declared in his prayer meeting that he would visit Kashmir to put an end of the "crisis". And what was the crisis? It was the fear in the mind of both Gandhi and Nehru that Maharaja of Kashmir may declare himself independent. Nehru had desired to visit Kashmir soon after the announcement of the 3rd June, Plan. The Maharaja opposed it, because he felt that the visit of Nehru could pave way for similar visit of Mr. Jinnah to Kashmir. Ultimately, Lord

Mountbatten, went to Kashmir and talked to the Maharaja and also to Ramchandra Kak, the Prime Minister. Chaudhry Muhamamd Ali (former Prime Minister of Pakistan) quotes Pandit Nehru as having said in the Royal Empire Society, London, on 6th October, 1948, that he had advised the Maharaja to find out the views of his people before deciding to join one of the two dominions, and that, had he decided to join Pakistan, the Government of India would not have picked up any quarrel and had he joined India, there could have been no dispute because Pakistan had not come into existence before 15th August (1947).

It is obviously, a deplomatic statement of Nehru, because, all the time he and his party were conspiring to make Kashmir part of Bharat and the release of Adbullah from jail was made possible with this end in view.

The Maharaja was pressurised and coerced into submission to the will of *Bharat Mata*. Pandit Ramchandra Kak, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, was the stumbling block in the path of Nehru. Mounbatten and Gandhi, who were in Srinagar on a mission in the first week of August, ·1947, saw to it that Kak was removed. It was the first success of the Indian manipulators.

Abdulllah has also admitted in his interview to the Urdu *Shabistan* Digest of Delhi, that the Maharaja favoured to remain independent. What is more, in his covering letter to the Instrument of Accession, which was sent to the Governor General of India in last week of October, 1947, the Maharajah himself admitted that he wanted to keep his State independent but since the attack and the revolt had taken place, he was constrained to accede to India. This was because Indian leaders were adament that first the Maharaja shall accede and then alone could the military assistance be provided to the State.

NWFP AND KASHMIR

The Congress had pinned its hopes on the referendum in the NWFP. Abdul Wali Khan went to Kashmir in August 1947, met the Maharaja and asked him to join India, so that the NWFP could also link itself with the Indian Union if Kashmir became part of India. This was the intention of the Red shirt leaders despite the fact that the Congress had suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Muslim League in the referendum on the issue of accession, which the province had to undergo as the Muslim League had not fared well in the Provincial assembly elections in 1946. In the referendum, Pakistan received 289244 votes and Bharat only 2844. The Congress could have realised the market value of anti-Muslim League Muslim Leaders, and the socalled nationalists could meet the same fate in Kashmir in case of a referendum on the issue of accession. But they tried to avoid a free and fair choice and higed their entire policy on manipulation of accession intrigue and conspiracy. Thus, a "palace intrigue" took place between the Maharaja, his spouse Maharani Tara Devi and the socalled apostle of non-violence and Truth, Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi, and of course the Raspution of Kashmir, Rajguru Sant Dev, who had tremendous influence with the Maharani, as Rasputin had with Czarina in pre-Communist Russia.

RASPUTIN OF KASHMIR

A graphic picture of Rajguru Sant Dev, had been given by a person none else than Sheikh Abdullah, in the *Aatash-i-Chinar*. Says Abdullah.

"Tara Devi (the Maharani) was under the influence of a mysterious character Raj Guru. He was very handsome. He used to attire silken robes and used lot of perfume. The Maharaja had allowed him to stay in the *bara dari* (a building with twelve doors) in the health resort at Achhabal. Later on he lived in a banglow in

Chashma Shahi, Srinagar. The "*ranis*" of the palace used to visit him for his *darshan* (audience). A British lady, Mrs. Burk, who also lived in the Chashma Shahi area, had complained to the Government that the Rajguru was trying to make love with her young daughters. Thus, he was asked to leave the State for some time. He was a staunch communalist Hindu. For quite some time, the Maharani was not on good terms with her spouse, but towards the last years of his age, the Maharaja was tremendously influenced by his beautiful wife, who was 20 years younger to him.

Rajguru Sant Dev, belonged to the United Provinces (now called Uttar Pradesh by Indians). He was well-educated, apparently he had forsaken the world but in actual practice he was a wayward person devoted to his carnal self. He could visit the private rooms of the palace any time he liked. He had the same influence on the *Raani* (queen) of Kashmir and Jammu State which Rasputin had over the Czarina, wife of Czar Nicholas 11 of Russia".

Thus, the services of this Rasputin and the "Czarina" of Kashmir, were also exploited for the conquest of Kashmir for *Bharat Mata*.

. Mention must be made here of the anti-Muslim attitude of the Maharaja, who always misconstrued things when it was a case of Muslims and their public opinion. The people of Rawlakot, many of whom were war-veterans, on the arrival of the Maharaja in April 1947, assembled in the town of Rawlakot to accord a guard of honour to the ruler, who was on a visit to the border areas of his State. The Maharaja received the guard of honour from a Dogra army platoon nearby and when he was requested to receive the same guard of honour by the Muslim ex-servicemen, who were thirty thousand in number, he did not pay any heed to it. The purpose of the Muslims was to impress upon the ruler that Muslims of Kashmir and Poonch were a force to be reckoned with and that while deciding the future of the

State, their views and sentiments should not be ignored. But the Maharaja did not care a bit for that and thus ignored and insulted the Muslims ex-servicemen. These people, after all, were his subjects and they wanted to pay him respects and convey their sentiments to him. But he ignored them and this naturally enhanced the inborn hatred which the Muslims of Poonch in general and this area in particular had against the Dogra raj. This happened on 23rd April, 1947.[89]

REVOLT IN POONCH

The people of the area refused to pay taxes to the unsympathic administration and an agitation started. On 1st June 1947, it was demanded in a public meeting in Rawlakot that the Dogra army should be withdrawn from Poonch. The leaders who addressed the meeting were arrested. Section 144 was promulgated by the authorities in Pulandri, Rawlakot, Dhirkot and Bagh.

The Maharaja was very apprehensive of the military capabilities of the Muslims. He was in league with the non-Muslim rulers of the East Punjab states and was also in constant touch with the Congress leaders, who later on became the Government of India since 15 August, 1947. Lord Birdwood writes in his *Two Nations and Kashmir*, on page 51, that by the end of August 1947, seven thousand rifles, which were kept in Jammu fort, along with ammunition, were distributed to the local Hindus by the official authority.

The British Chief of Staff of the Kashmir Army was replaced by Brig. Rajendar Singh, and Mr. Paul, the IG Police, who was an Englishman, was replaced by Rau Rattan Singh. The campaign to disarm the Muslims was started from Poonch and the people of this district were ordered to deposit all their arms in the nearest police stations. According to Maulavi Mir Alam Khan this order pertained to swords and spears, knives and even to military uniform.

On 23rd August, 1947 Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum, in a public meeting at Nila But, declared that time had come when the Muslims should start a crusade (*jehad*) for the liberation of their homeland. The Chief of the Muslim National Guards in Rawlakot, Commander Muhammad Ashraf Khan, made a similar declaration at Rawlakot. On 29th August, there was a clash between the Muslim mujahideen and the Dogra troops in which five Muslims were martyred and a number of them were injured.

Because of the atrocities on the people of Poonch, the Muslim Conference observed a "Poonch Day" in the entire State and the Government was urged to restore peace in Poonch by releasing the leaders of Poonch. A deputation of the Muslim Conference, headed by Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah, met the Deputy Prime Minister, Ramlal Batra in Srinagar and asked him to allow a deputation of the party to go to Poonch. This request was turned down by Depty Prime Minister Batra on the pretext that there was martial law in Poonch and even he, being the Deputy Prime Minister, could not go there himself because such were the rules of the martial law. He indicated that the whole trouble in Poonch had been caused by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, a member of the Assembly from that District.

Great services were rendered by veterans like Captain Husain Khan shaheed, by Sayyed Khadim Hussein Shah shaheed and many other freedom fighters of Poonch to put an end to the Dogra rule in that part of the State.

Soon after the removal of Kak from Prime Ministership, ban on the entry of Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad and G.M. Sadiq into the State, was lifted. Warrant of arrest against Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra, who had been organising the "underground movement" of the National Conference during the Quit Kashmir agitation with Congress funds, was also withdrawn.

Sheikh Abdullah was in the meantime planning to come out of jail, whatever the cost. He wrote a letter, mention of which has already been made, to the Maharaja through Nachent Chand, the brother-in-law of Maharaja, three days before his release.

TEXT OF SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S APOLOGY TO THE MAHARAJA

May it please Your Highness.

It is after about one and a half year's incarceration that as long wished I had an opportunity of having detailed talks with Thakur Nachant Chand Ji. What unfortunate things happened during this period in the State, I need not mention. But that is now realised by every well-wisher of the State that many of the regrettable happenings of the past have mainly been due the misunderstandings which appear now to have deliberately been created by interested people in order to achieve their own ends. R.B. Ramchandra Kak, the ex-Prime Minister through his mischievous methods and masterly manooeuvrings brought these misunderstandings to a climax and succeeded in his attempt, though temporarily to a certain extent. He painted me and my organisation in the darkest colours and in everything that we did or attempted to do to bring Your Highness and your people closer, baseless and selfish motives were attributed to me. But God be thanked that all these enemies of Your Highness and the State stand exposed today.

Inspite of what has happened in the past. I assure Your Highness that myself and my party have never harboured any sentiment of disloyalty towards Your Highness; person, throne or dynasty. The developments of this beautiful country and the betterment of its people is our common aim and interest and I assure Your Highness the fullest and loyal support of myself and my organization. Not only this, I assure Your Highness, that any party, within or without the State, which may try to create any in our efforts to gain our goal, will be treated as our enemy and will be treated as such.

In order to achieve the common aim set forth above, mutual trust and confidence must be the mainstay. Without this it would not be possible to face successfully the great difficulties that beset our State on all sides at present.

Before I close this letter I beg to assure Your Highness once again of my steadfast loyalty and pray that God under Your Highness' aegis bring such an Era of Peace, Prosperity and of Good Government that it may be second to none and be an ideal for others to copy.

Your Highness most obedient Subject.

\S.M. Abdullah

(From the Heir Apparent pp 81-82, by Dr. Karan Singh, former Governor of Kashmir and son of Maharaja Hari Singh.)[90]

By the writing of this letter, path was paved for Sheikh Abdullah's meeting as a prisoner, with the Maharaja. Abdullah admits in his *Aatash-i-Chinar* that Maharja's brother-in-law Nachant Chand played a part in bringing Abdullah closer to the Maharaja. When the time and date of Abdullah's audience with the Maharaja was fixed, a Kashmiri Pandit go-between, Sham Lal Dhar came to take Abdullah to the palace. He told Abdullah that while presenting himself before the Maharaja, he was supposed to offer some gold coins, that is, British, "sovereigns," as token of loyalty, Abdullah told the Pandit that he was a prisoner and had no gold coins, on which the resourceful Pandit told him that he himself was carrying some coins for him, which were given to Abdullah to be presented to the Maharaja. The audience took place and Abdullah said the same things to the

Maharaja which have been written in this letter. It is but natural that, the recommendation of M.K. Gandhi and Mountbatten, and some others worked and Abdullah was freed. This abject surrender by Abdullah and his blaming others for creating "misunderstandings" between him and the Maharaja, reminds one of famous Urdu verse:

Kon kahta hai ki hum mein laraie hogee
Yeh havaie kisi dushaman nay uraie hogee

Pandit Bazaz has given the text of the oath of loyalty which Abdullah took when he was appointed Administrator of Jammu and Kashmir by the same Maharaja Hari Singh whom Abdullah wanted to "Quit Kashmir".

The oath of loyalty is:

I, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, son of Muhammad Ibrahim, who has been appointed as administrator, solemnly promise that I shall remain loyal to His Highness Rajeeshwar Mahrashadhiran Sir Maharajah Hari Singh ji Bahadur Inder Mahinder, Sipar-e-Sultanate Englishia, ruler of Jammu and Kashmir and his heirs and his successors and shall honestly discharge the duties that are to be entrusted to me (page 335, *History of Struggle for Freedom* by P.N. Bazaz).[91]

Some time after the death of Sheikh Abdullah, Mr. C. Bilqis Taseer, widow of Dr. Muhammad Din Taseer (Dr. Taseer was the Principal of the A.S. Degree College while the writer, Mir Abul Aziz was a student in 1942-43), in her book she wrote that it was a lie concocted by Prem Nath Bazaz and other opponents of Sheikh Sahib that Abdullah had met the Maharaja while he (Sheikh) was in jail. I received the book of Mrs. Taseer for review, which took me some time to write as I had some personal problems.

It was during those very days that the autobiography of Abdullah *Aatash-i-Chinar* himself came in the market. I wrote a review on the book of Mrs. Taseer in the daily *Muslim* Islamabad, mentioning the meeting of Abdullah with the Maharaja which Mrs. Taseer denied had taken place. Mrs. Taseer had also argued in her book that when she went to Srinagar to condole the death of Abdullah with Mrs. Abdullah, she also told her that it was a lie that Sheikh Sahib had met the Maharaja while the former was in jail in 1947.

I confronted both the ladies, the author as well as Begum Abdullah with the question, who was right? Abdullah or the two ladies? Abdullah has himself mentioned the meeting with the Maharaja in full detail in the *Aatash-i-Chinar*. How on earth can Mr. Taseer and Mrs. Sheikh Abdullah deny it? Does it mean that, if the two ladies are correct, then Sheikh Abdullah is a lier? It appeared that both the ladies, that is, neither the wife of the Sheikh, nor his devotee Mrs C. Bilqis Taseer, had cared to read Sheikh Abdullah's own book. Had they read Abdullah's own book, they would never have tried to prove poor Prem Nath Bazaz a lier while Sheikh Sahib has himself mentioned his meeting with the Maharaja in full detail.

Bazaz has also mentioned that when Adbullah was released in 1947, his Begum carried a big tray (*thaal*) of sweets to the Maharaja's palace, as thanksgiving, forgetting that they had started the "Quit Kashmir" agitation against the Maharaja only one year before.

Abdullah, after assuring the Maharaja of his loyalty through the letter and also by a personal meeting, already mentioned in this book, was released on 29th September, 1947. On 3rd October, he addressed a public meeting at Hazoori Bagh, now called Iqbal Park, Srinagar, in which he said: "I do not know why I was arrested and I do not know why I have been released.

This meeting was mostly attended by Sikhs and Hindus, and by very few Muslims, while he writes in his autobiography that it was a mammoth meeting, which it was not. A river procession was also taken out in honour of Abdullah, by his supporters, in the *Shikaras* (small boats), but he was spared the dishonour which had been shown to Nehru and other Congress leaders two years before. Abdullah was spared because his supporters had assured the Muslims that as soon as Sheikh Sahib would come out of jail, he would support the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan.

The writer of these lines was also in the meeting as an unnoticed spectator. I noticed that when Abdullah started saying ambiguous and enigmatic things and dilly-dallied on the issue of accession, the Muslims in the Hazoori Bagh started leaving the premesis disappointed, leaving only Hindus and Sikhs to listen to the Sheikh's harangue.

Abdullah's statement that he did not know why he was arrested and why he was released, was within the next few days discussed by the local press.

Newspapers like *Hamdard* wrote that it is known to the world and to Abdullah himself that he was arrested in May 1946 because he raised the slogan of "Quit Kashmir" against the Maharaja, and he was released when he begged pardon in writing and by word of mouth, and assured the Maharaja that he would be loyal to him as he ever was and that the "misunderstandings had been created" by Ramchandra Kak, who was no more the Prime Minister. That Adbullah had been released along with the friends, was officially announced by the Government in the State legislative Assembly.

He kept on beating about the bush about accession to Pakistan. His emissary, G.M. Sadiq, went to Pakistan to contact the Muslim League leaders, and as time proved, it was only a pressure tactic to get concessions from the Maharaja and the Indian leaders, by enhancing his bargaining position.

While Sadiq was still in Pakistan, the tribal attack on Kashmir took place. Sheikh Abdullah was in Srinagar and he too fled, fearing the tribals, to New Dehli. G.M.

Sadiq, it has been reported, was carrying a letter from Liaqut Ali Khan, for Sheikh Abdullah, inviting him to Pakistan to discuss the issue of Kashmir. Sadiq has said that since he came to know that Abdullah was no more in Srinagar, but in Delhi, he took the seat in the plane from Lahore to the Indian capital and rushed to the home of Pandit Nehru, where Abdullah was staying. At that very time, Nehru and Abdullah were together and Sadiq says that he told Abdullah in Kashmiri that he had brought a letter to him from Pakistan's Prime Minister, inviting him to visit Pakistan, in such a manner and in such low tones that Nehru should not know anything about it at all. But Adbullah, in order to enhance his bargaining position with Nehru, told Sadiq loudly in Urdu." Sadiq, come on give me the letter you brought from Pakistan for me." Sadiq says that he was upset and ashamed by the attitude of Adbullah and had to pass on the brief letter to Abdullah, who after reading it, passed it on to Nehru.[92] This was a situation which has been described in a persian ghazal as below:

Nirkh bala kun ki arzaani hanooz.

(Enhance your value because you are still cheap)

BARGAINING WITH NEHRU

Thus, the letter of the Pak Prime Minister was exploited by the political blackmailer Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. It was a signal to Nehur that if the Congress could not manage to get power to him in Kashmir, he would try his luck with Pakistan.

In another public meeting after his release, Nehru's agent Abdullah further exposed himself by saying that the Congress had helped him a lot. "But our first purpose is to get our freedom. And when the question of deciding the accession comes, and people decide in favour of acceding to Pakistan, I will be the first to accept this accession."

The traitor of the Kashmir Muslims did not realise while saying this that when the people would decide in favour of Pakistan, there was no need of men like him supporting Pakistan. As he writes in his book, he said in one of public meetings that even if people decide in favour of accession to Pakistan, we will never have faith in the two-nation theory which has poisoned the atmosphere in the country (he still called Indian sub-continent as one country, although it was October 1947).

Abdullah admits that on reaching Delhi, he was received by Pandit Nehru himself at the airport and a guard of honour was presented to him. He does not mention that those who received him inculded also Indira Gandhi, the daughter of Pandit Nehru. He stayed in Delhi as Nehru's guest.

FIRST DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY PEOPLE OF JAMMU & KASHMIR

(From the Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore 6th October, 1947).

A provisional Government has been set up for the Kashmir State, with headquarters at Muzaffarabad, in Kashmir territory, 20 miles from Pakistan border, according to the telegram received from Rawalpindi on Saturday night.

The message which is signed by Mr. Anwar who describes himself as President of the Provisional Republican Government of Kashmir State.

"With the termination of the Paramountcy of the British Crown, the ruling family of Kashmir have lost whatever right it claimed under the Treaty of Amritsar, under which Kashmir was transfered by the British to Maharaja Gulab Singh, a forefather of the present ruler, for a paltry sum of rupees fifty lakhs and that the people have set up a provisional government with headquarters at Muzaffarabad.

The message further states that if after 1.00 p.m. on October 4th ·1947, Hari Singh, the present Maharaja or any person acting under his orders or instructions claims to rule over the State, he shall be punished under laws of the Provisional Government. Henceforth, all laws, orders and instructions promulgated or issued by the Provisional Republican Government of Kashmir State are to be respected and obeyed.

Mr. Anwar is a prominent member of the Kashmir Muslim Conference, the President of which Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and the General Secretary Agha Shaukat Ali have been imprisoned for about a year by the Kashmir Government.

AZAD KASHMIR GOVERNMENT RECONSTITUTED RULE OVER LARGE PART OF STATE TERRITORY ESTABLISHED

Pulandri (Poonch) Oct. 24: The Provisional Azad Kashmir Government, which the people of Jammu and Kashmir had set up a few weeks ago, has now established its rule over a portion of the State territory and the Government has been reconstituted with Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Bar-at-Law, Poonch, as its provisional head and its Headquarters have been moved to Pullandri in Poonch, it is announced today.

The Provisional Government in a statement to the Press today has expressed sentiments of goodwill towards the neighbouring dominions of India and Pakistan and hopes that both the dominions will sympathise with the people of Jammu and Kashmir in the efforts to exercise their right of political freedom.

Following is the text of the statement issued by the Provisional Azad Government of Kashmir:

"The Provisional Azad Government, which the people of Jammu and Kashmir have set up a few weeks ago with the object of ending intolerable Dogra tyrannies and securing to the people of the State, including Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, the right of free self government has now established its rule over a mojor portion of the State territory and hopes to liberate the remaining pockets of Dogra rule very soon, in view of these circumstances, it has been reconstituted with Mr. Ibrahim, Bar-at-Law of Poonch as its provisional head and its headquarters have been moved to Pullandri in Poonch."

"**The new government** represents the united will of the Jammu and Kashmir State to be free from the rule of the Dogra dynasty, which has long suppressed and oppressed the people."

"The movement of liberty which has culminated in the formation of the present Provisional Government has a long history dating from 1929. Thousand of Jammu and Kashmir people, including members of all communities, have suffered death and imprisonment in the cause of this movement. One of its forms was the Quit Kashmir Movement launched in the Kashmir Valley last year."

"It will be recalled that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a friend of the suffering people of Indian States went to help this movement at that time, but was not allowed to enter the State territory under the orders of the ex-ruler Hari Singh. The tyrannies perpetrated by Raja and his officials and his troops on the people increased with the increase in the desire of the people for freedom and self government."

"Recently a prominent Hindu patriot, who wanted to proceed to Karachi and New Delhi and represented the intolerable conditions in the State to our neighbouring dominion of Pakistan and India, was arrested by the ex-ruler's officials."

"The united will of the people of the State, has however, overcome the organised violence of the ruler's armies. He and his so-called prime minister have fled from Kashmir and will perhaps soon flee from Jammu as well.

"The provisional government, which is assuming the administration of the State, is most emphatically not a communal government. It will include Muslims as well as non-Muslims in the provisional cabinet which will serve the people, the temporary purpose of restoring law and order in the State and enable the people to elect by their free vote a popular legislature and a popular government."

"The provisional Government entertain sentiments of the utmost friendliness and goodwill towards its neighbouring dominions of Indian and Pakistan and hopes that both the dominions will sympathise with the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their efforts to exercise their birthnight of political freedom. The Provisional Government is further anxious to safeguard the indentity of Jammu and Kashmir as political entity."

"The question of accession of a Jammu and Kashmir to either dominion can only be decided by the free vote of the people in the form of a referendum. The Provisional Government will make prompt arrangements for this and hopes to see that the question is decided by the free will of the people. A.P.I.

(*The Pakistan Times,* Lahore, October 5, 1947)

NOTE: The first story is from the *C&M Gazette* Lahore, dated 6th October, 1947, and is based on the telegram received by the paper from Rawalpindi from Mr. Anwar. Another version of the same story, also based on the telegram received from Rawalpindi, appeared in the weekly *Light* Lahore, dated 8th October, 1947.

The second proclamation is from *The Pakistan Times* Lahore and is the coverage of the API, (the Associated Press of India). It is to be noted that the part of the Associated Press of India that remained in Pakistan, was still called Associated Press of India and not Associated Press of Pakistan. Later on, when the news agency was also divided by its organisers between India and Pakistan, the major part, which remained within Indian called itself the PTI or Press Trust of India and the Pakistan part was called the Associate Press of Pakistan.

The second proclamation of independence, dated 24th October clearly says that the Azad Government of Kashmir was constituted some weeks earlier and it had, by 24th October, freed a good part of the Kashmir State territory and was, therefore, reconstituted with Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan as the President.

It is a fact that the then Director of Information of Azad Kashmir Government, Sardar Abdur Rahman Qasim Mitha of Bombay, owner of the *Kashmir Times* Srinagar, who had been externed to Pakistan, and Ghanshiam Kumar Reddy, editor of the *Kashmir Times* Srinagar, who had been extended by the Kashmir Government to India, but he managed to come to Lahore, to report to his boss Malik Tajuddin, Manager API Lahore, as Reddy was the Correspondent of the API in Srinagar. When Reddy reported to Malik Tajuddin at Lahore, he advised him to go to Rawalpindi, where Mitha, the boss of Reddy in the *Kashmir Times* Srinagar, was also putting up.

The mention of the Quit Kashmir movement, the emphasis on the noncommunal character of the Azad Government and the fact of describing Nehru as a "friend of the suffering people of the Indian states is not the language of a Muslim Leaguer and a Muslim Conferencite, but of a nationalist. Both Mitha and Reddy were nationalists, but were thrown out of Kashmir by the Jammu and Kashmir Government as they were against the *goondaism* of the National Conference and wanted a democratic solution of the Kashmir tangle.

The Hindu patriot, who wanted to visit Karachi and New Delhi to represent Kashmiri people's views to the Government of Pakistan and Karachi, was Pandit

Prem Nath Bazaz. The news of the proposed visit of Bazaz, Mir Abdul Aziz and Mir Noor Mohammad, was covered by Reddy, the API man in Srinagar and flashed by Radio Pakistan. This was the immediate reason of the arrest of Prem Nath Bazaz and issue of warrants of arrest against the other two members of the delegation by the Jammu Kashmir Government. Writings of the two, Mitha and Reddy, and reports of the latter to API, Lahore, flashed by Radio Pakistan in its news bulletins, made the two nationalists *persona non grata* with the pro-Hindustan Kashmir Government and resulted in their externment from the State. Mitha, being a Muslim, was externed *via* Kohala, and Reddy, being a Hindu from Madras, was thrown out of the State *via* Kathhua to Pathankot, East Punjab, but the latter rejoined his boss and friend Abdur Rahman Mitha after coming to Lahore and then to Rawalpidi, where Mitha was already the Director Public Relations of the Azad Government of Kashmir.

Due to likes and dislikes of Khwajah Abdur Raheem of Lahore, Commissioner Rawalpindi Division who was the incharge of the Kashmir Freedom Movement, and almost the kingmaker of Azad Kashmir, both Mitha and Reddy were replaced by Dr. M.D. Taseer and Hafiz Jullendhari as Director and Deputy Director Public Relations.(Mir Abdul Aziz).

P.S. G.K. Reddy was the president of the Kashmir Province of the All Jammu and Kashmir Press Conference and the writer, Mir Adbul Aziz, being the Editor of weeklies *Millat* and *Jauhar* Srinagar, was the Secretary of this newspaper editors organisation, before migration to Pakistan and the holocast which overtook Jammu and Kashmir in that years.

The second declaration, rather proclamation, an elaborate one of course, followed the tribal attack on Kashmir *via* Muzaffarabad.

Events in Poonch district were of course a source of great concern for the Dogra regime, but to all intents and purposes, it was a localised affair. However, tribal attack on Muzaffarabad, where the Dogras were routed and wherefrom, the tribals proceeded to the Valley *via* Baramullah, took the Maharaja by surprise. It was believed that the tribesmen had damaged the electricity plant at Mahoora, which supplied electricity to the whole Valley. But later on, it was discovered that in view of the tribal attack, those who were running the hydle project, deserted their place of duty and naturally the entire supply of electricity to Srinagar and other parts of the Valley, was stopped. The whole Valley was swept by darkness, which reminds one of Shakespear's verses, in one of his dramas written ages ago:

Now entertain conjecture of a time
When creeping murmur and pouring dark
Fill the wide vessel of Universe.

The stoppage of electric light in the city of Srinagar had a great demoralising effect on the authority.

WHEN QUAID WAS DISOBEYED[93]

The despatch of the tribesmen has been discussed by writers and strategists. But evidence has proved that the father of the nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, had not been consulted when this decision was taken. The best thing would have been to send the Pakistan army to Jammu and block the road which connected Jammu city with Kashmir. Traffic had been started on the mud road *via* Pathankot and that could also be blocked by blocking the Banihal Cart Road at any point between Srinagar and Jammu. The other step that should have been taken was to send the Pakistan army to Kashmir, to capture the airport. In fact the Quaid-i-Azam on 27 October directed that the Pakistan army should be sent to Kashmir. This is confirmed by more than one most reliable sources Maj.

General(R) Muhammad Akbar Khan, who was the military advisor to Liaquat Ali Khan in the early stages of the Kashmir movement, writes that when the "accession" of Kashmir to India took place and Indian landed her troops in the Valley, he had suggested that regular army should be sent to Kashmir and later on, he came to know that the same were the orders of the Quaid-i-Azam on the same day.

Jammu and Kashmir Government was committed to the standstill agreement, which it had itself initiated with Pakistan, and the latter had gladly accepted it. Pakistan was responsible for the defence and the foreign policy as well as communication of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan could send her troops to Kashmir, but instead the tribesman were sent. There is no doubt that the "brief" of the tribesmen was also to capture the Srinagar airport which was eight miles form Sinagar and was least defended at that time. That the Srinagar airport was defenceless is evident from the book *Slender was the Thread* written by Lt. General L.P. Sen of the Indian army. He has also opined that the greatest misfortune of Pakistan in Kashmir was the sending of the tribesmen to fight in Kashmir. But this is a disputed point.

TRIBESMEN IN KASHMIR[94]

It should not mean that Kashmiris rule out or ignore the sacrifices rendered by the tribesmen in Kashmir. In fact, when in the winter of 1947-48, the arrival of the tribesmen in Kashmir Valley was delayed, after their first retreat, Kashmiri poets wrote poems in their praise and longed for their immediate return to Kashmir.

The mission given to the tribesmen was to break the backbone of the Jammu and Kashmir army and that they did. But when Indian troops and highly mechanised army, assisted by Indian airforce, came, the tribals could be no match for Indian army. An interesting discussion took place between "General Tariq" (pseudonim of Brigadier Muhammad Akbar Khan) and the tribals when the tribesmen were retreating from Kashmir, in the Muzaffarabad district on the JV Road, when the tribals asked the Pakistan army officer whether Pakistan army was going to step in Kashmir, they got a "no" as the reply. The attempt to liberate Kashmir with the help of a few thousand Pathan fighters and a thousand trucks, was a half-hearted measure. It precipitated the accession of the Maharaja to India.

General Iskandar Mirza throws the blame of the tribal incursions into Kashmir Territory on Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, then Chief Minister of NWFP. But this is not the whole truth. The Punjab provincial government was also affiliated with the affair, otherwise, what had the Commissioner of the Rawalpindi Division to do with the Kashmir affairs? In fact, he had everything to do with the Kashmir situation, and even with change in the Azad Kashmir administration.

Salimullah Khan, Senior Research Fellow/ Archivist, National Documentation Centre, Cabinet Division, Pakistan, Islamabad read out a paper in the Quaid-i-Azam seminar held in the Quaid-i-Azam University on May 8 — 9 in 1996 and quoted General Iskandar Mirza, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, K.H. Khurshid, Justice Yusuf Sarraf, and Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, which shows that the Governor General had not been taken into confidence about the venture which was launched in Kashmir, as a poor substitute to his most courageous order that Pakistan Army, be sent to Jammu and Srinagar.

Quoting from *Documents on Kashmir Problems* vol. I by M.S. Dogar and R. Goover New Delhi, 1991, Salimullah Khan writes:

"On the basis of evidence available today, it can now be said that the tribal invasion was shocking, not only for the Quaid but also for many others who were expecting a negotiated settlement to the problem. Those who planned this adventure should have perceived that the Maharaja of Kashmir was already in close contacts with the Indian leaders. Only four days before the tribal invasion, i.e.. on 18th October, 1947 in a telegraphic message to the Quaid-i-Azam, he had accused Pakistan of violation of the Standstill Agreement and had in fact, threatened that his government "would be justified" in asking for friendly assistance and oppose tresspass on its fundamental rights. "The Quaid was well aware of the real intentions of Maharaja Hari Singh as is evident from his reply dated 20th October, 1947 to the Maharaja: "the unfounded allegations and accusation are only a smoke screen to cover the real aim of your Government's policy. The threat to enlist outside assistance, shows clearly that the real aim of your government's policy is to seek an opportunity to join the Indian dominion through a *coup d'etat* by securing the intervention and assistance of that Government.[91]

When the farcical accession took place and Indian forces reached the Valley, the Quaid was impatient, "The Quaid-i-Azam was watching these events with growing impatience and agitation. Iskandar Mirza writes: "He sent for me and he said "why don't you march in?" I said "Your Excellency. it is not easy to march in,.we are not organised on the ground, and further we have small arms ammunition only long enough for a fortnight's contact. We can't possibly have a war on our hands." The same thing was said to him in much stronger language by Sir Claude Auchinleck, who was Supreme Commander, and also by the Commander-in-Chief General Gracey.

Mr. A.H. Suhrawardy: in his book *Tragedy in Kashmir*[95] writes that attacking Kashmir and not Jammu, which had Hindu majority. was not the right thing. He says that the invasion of Kashmir instead of Jammu was "unfortunate". "It provided India an excuse for military intervension in Kashmir and therefore. the tribal invasion. was for them a veritable-God-send".

Mr. Salimullah adds: "Who organised this thoughtless venture? As has been mentioned above, even the Quaid-i-Azam was taken by surprise by the tribal invasion. He was at Lahore, seriously ill, and very much worried on account of the flood of refugees and the massacre of the Muslims in East Punjab, Delhi and Jammu." Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Minister for Communications, was confounded when this actually happended and it was done without the knowledge of Quaid-i-Azam".

Bilquees C. Taseer in *Kashmir of Sheikh Abdullah*, page 268.[95]

The blunder of sending the tribals to Kashmir could be covered up by despatching the Pakistan Army to capture the Srinagar air-strip and the road connecting Jammu with Srinagar. But that was not done. The British C-in-C did what he did, but the Prime Minister also got cold field. Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas records in his article about his Quaid-i-Azam, as quoted by Sarwar Abbasi that when he asked the Quaid-i-Azam why he did not overrule the objection of the British C-in-C and even the Prime Minister, the Quaid said that on his initiative a meeting of the cabinet was called to discuss the matter and the cabinet rejected my move unanimously. "In the matter of Kashmir, we have not only missed the correct bus, we have, in fact, been seated in the wrong bus." commented the Founder of Pakistan.

When Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas felt disappointed, the Quaid-i-Azam told him that there was no question of disappointment on Kashmir. "We will Insha Allah get Kashmir:.[96]

He told Ch. Abbas that as Governor General he could not get the cabinet decision reversed.

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim, who was the President of Azad Kashmir during the time when the Quaid was still alive, says that the Government had lacked courage to send the Pakistan army to Kashmir.

The Pakistan army did soon step in, but *incognito*, and in very limited numbers. Had the army jumped into the fray at the moment when the order from the leader of the nation came, the results would have been different.

A *lashkar* of the tribals was of course in the vicinity of the airport of Srinagar in the first week of November. Lt. General L.P. Sen of India who went to Kashmir as Colonel, writes in the *Slander was the Thread* that on the night between and November, 1947, the tribals were reported to be less than four miles away from the airstrip, where he and twenty five others personnel were holding the field. He says that had the tribals attacked the airstrip, or even damaged the only airship on the field, the Indian airships could not land on it next day and the entire history of Kashmir and of the sub-continent would have been different. But the tribal *lashkar* did not attack that night and next day, the Indian army landed in Srinagar and the entire situation was changed.

WHY MUJAHIDEEN COULD NOT CAPTURE SRINAGAR AIRPORT[97]

The present writer went to Kashmir in 1982 for the first time in the thirty five years of his migration and there an old friend of mine met me, who lived in the vicinity of the airport and I asked him why the mujahideen of 1947, had not attacked the airport. He related a lengthy story which I covered in my articles in the Pakistani newspapers. The long and short of it was that the person who was to guide them to the airport disappeared when he was sent to some other place, where food had been arranged for the mujahideen which they were to take before their raid on the airport. The mujahideen feared that he had gone to the enemy and was betraying the mujahideen, which actually was not the case. The mujahideen thought they were being trapped and did not go to the airport on the fixed time and date. That did not mean that they were afraid of death. Within next few days, they faced the enemy in the battle of Shalteng near Srinagar and died fighting valiantly for the freedom of Kashmir.

When the great retreat took place, the job of the Azad Kashmir forces, which had been organised within the short period, was to retain the territory of Jammu and Kashmir which had been liberated as a result of the tribal invasion. It had come to assist the Muslim personnel of the Dogra army, who had revolted against the Kashmir Maharaja. The job was done excellently and lot of trouble was caused to the Indians in every nook and corner of the State.

The valiant people of Gilgit and Baltistan also fought the battle of freedom without much outside assistance. That is how, on that side, 28000 square miles of the state are free of Dogra and Indian domination. The Northern Areas are the most strategic part of the state and that is a living proof of the love which the valiant people of that territory have for Islam and freedom.

ATROCITIES ON KASHMIRIS[98]

Azad Kashmir area today is less than five thousand square miles. Thus, the Azad Kashmir area and the Northern Areas, put together make nearly 33,000 square miles of the State territory, which is more than 1/3rd of the territory of the entire of Jammu and Kashmir.

While warfare was rampant on the soil of Jammu and Kashmir between the freedom fighters, the Azad Kashmir Regular Forces and their supporters, the people of the state who were caught in the Occupied territory, kept the flame of freedom burning by rendering sacrifices for their freedom and for the right of self determination. Thousands of political workers, lawyers, intellectuals and government servants, who were suspected of having pro-freedom or pro-Pakistan tendencies, were jailed. Ramchandar Kak was arrested. Instead of handcuff, a rope was tied to both his hands and he was taken to the jail on foot. Prem Nath Bazaz, who had been taken prisoner earlier, was subjected to detention without trial in a jail in Jammu province and he could not be contacted by his near and dear ones. When he was released after the cease-fire, he abandoned his home in Kashmir where he was not safe and started living in New Delhi, where he continued to work for the liberation of Kashmir, in his own way, and died there in the year 1984. Efforts of Abdullah and other pro-Indian leaders to win him over did not succeed.

Entry of Chaudhry Hamidullah Khan, the leader of the Assembly group of the Muslim Conference, and of Mirwaiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah, a religious and political leader of the Valley to Kashmir, was banned. Sardar Adbur Rahman Mitha, owner and G.K. Reddy, the editor of the noted English weekly of Kashmir, the *Kashmir Times*, were externed from the State. Even Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, the chief leader of the Muslim Conference, was externed and dropped on the Sialkot border.

Many others were put behind bars. Some of them were tortured to death. Abdussalam Yatu, leader of the Jammu and Kashmir Kisan Mazdoor Conference, a great supporter of the right of self determination was brought to the Sialkot border from the jail, while his face was covered by a piece of cloth, so that he might not know where he was taken, and dropped at the Pakistan border in Sialkot.

In the city of Srinagar, when a member of the Assembly, Iqbal Chaprey, was arrested, his face was besmeared with human refuse and both his hands were tied together at his back, with a rope and in that condition he was paraded in the streets of Srinagar. In southern part of Kashmir, many beared persons, were caught and only one side of their face was shaved forcibly and they were left in that condition. This was done as the bearded ones were mostly with the Muslim Conference or were not in agreement with the Abdullah regime.

When Sheikh Abdulllah, on the intervention of Nehru, was given a share in the State power and made the Administrator, he forgot the slogan he had raised and given to the people of Kashmir that the Maharaja should quit Kashmir and "Down with the Dogra Raj" and took oath of allegiance to the Maharaja. As administrator, he went to Jammu, where Hindus had killed the Muslims and he made a speech there, saying that he had no difference with the slogan which Hindu of Jammu were raising by shouting *Maharaja Bahadur Ki Jai*, but said that he wanted to ask this much: "Do you want to see the Maharaja Bahadur as the king of Jammu city only or the whole state? If you want to keep him as the king of only one or two districts you can surely do so and I know that you have arranged this. You have emptied the area of the Muslims. But my desire is that Maharaja Bahadur should remain the king of the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir and not only of two or three districts. Addressing the Maharaja, the caged lion of Kashmir said: "We wanted that the forty lakh people of the state should adore you and let the world witness the same. But these unwise friends of yours have made our task difficult."

This has been quoted by Prem Nath Bazaz, on page 331 from the official publication of the National Conference of Sheikh Abdullah, named *Khutbat-i-Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Sher-i-Kashmir* (the speeches of the Lion of Kashmir Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah) issued from Srinagar when Abdullah was hand in gloves with the Maharaja and with India in the late forties.

ABDULLAH -'WHAT A FALL?[99]

And just see the wording of the oath he took on 27th October, 1947, when he was sworn in as the Administrator, without any democratic or constitutional and legal sanction. The wording is:

"I, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, son of Muhammad Ibrahim, who has been appointed as Administrator, solemnly promise that I shall remain loyal to His Highness Maharaja Adhiraj, Shri Maharaja Hari Singh jee Bahadur, Inder Mahinder, Sipar-i Sultenat-i Englishia, ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, and his heirs and successors and shall honestly discharge the duties that are entrusted to me".

Treachery could go no farther. Just one year ago, he had announced from pulpits and housetops that he wanted to put an end to the Dogra rule, but now he was assuring loyalty not only to the ruler but also to his successors and heirs.

KILLINGS IN JAMMU

Jammu is, as a province, a Muslim majority province of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, out of this province, Poonch and Mirpur districts were set free by the mujahideen in 1947 and 1948. The two districts, that is, the parts of these old districts, have been subdivided by the Azad Kashmir Government into more districts, but that is not what we are discussing here.

Indian held Jammu had six districts now, they are Doda, Poonch and Rajouri, which are geographically adjacent to the Valley of Kashmir and have large chunks of Kashmiri speaking population and they have Muslims in majority. Then there are three more districts, namely Udhampur, Kathua and Jammu, which are Hindu majority areas and not adjacent to the Valley of Kashmir. The present position of the Muslim population is that in the Indian Occupied Jammu province, Muslims are thirty four percent and the non-Muslims are sixty six percent. This sometimes leads analysts in Pakistan and elswhere to believe that the Muslim majority of Jammu province has been completely eleminated. But that is not so. Because when we try to find out the Muslim ratio of population of Jammu province, the population of Mirpur and Poonch districts which are in Azad Kashmir, is also to be added to the Muslim total and we again find that by this calculation. Muslims are still sixty percent of the population in the Azad and occupied parts of Jammu province.

But that does not mean that Muslims were not massacred in Jammu. They were killed or hounded out of their homes and there was a conspiracy between the Maharaja and the Hindu extremists and militants from Hindu India for that purpose. We have already noted that seven thousands of arms and lot of ammunition were distributed free of cost to the Hindu youths in Jammu province and some volunteers from Hindu India. The killings started throughout the Jammu province, where people were killed. their women folk were kidnapped and raped. Entire villages were set on fire.

Reports of the atrocious behaviour of the Hindu militants in villages and far off places reached the cities very late. as there was no organised daily Muslim press in this part of the State. But what happened in Jammu city itself, makes one shudder. On 4th November, 1947. says Sheikh Abdullah. Sardar Vallahbhai Patel. the Deputy Prime Minister of India. along with Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister and the Maharaja of Patiala State (who had sent his troops into the Valley long before the fraudulent accession of Kashmir Maharaja to India) toured Jammu and also met Maharaja Hari Singh, who was in Jammu. Abdullah says, on page 438 of his *Aatish-i-Chinar*: "On 5th November, it was announced in Jammu city by beat of drum, that the Muslims of Jammu should assemble in the Police Lines, so that they could be sent to Pakistan. In a short while, Muslims assembled in the Police Lines and they were dumped into forty trucks, each truck contained about sixty men, women and children. On reaching Sanba, they were ordered out of the trucks and at this place, machine guns had been fixed. All the young women were separated from their men and children and the latter were gunned down. Babies were separated from the laps of their mothers and done to death with the points of the spears. This groups also included the daughter of Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas who was also kidnapped. When I came to know this I started wriggling with anguish on the brutality committed by human beings on other humans. The same things were repeated on 6th November, when Muslims of Jammu were taken in trucks, apparently to Pakistan but were waylaid and killed as their fellows had been killed on the previous day. Some of them were drowned in the nearby stream. Very few of them escaped to Pakistan to tell their co-religionists what fate their brothers and sisters had met in Jammu."

Abdullah alleges that the then Prime Minister, Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, had arranged this massacre. He also says that the Maharani Tara Devi, the spouse of Hari Singh, went round the Jammu city in an open jeep and instigated the Jammu Hindus to avenge themselves upon the Muslims who wanted to liberate Kashmir from the Dogra rule and also convert it into Pakistan. She talked of the alleged atrocities of the Muslims of Kashmir against the Hindus in the western part of Kashmir.

Adbullah says that he confronted the Prime Minister Mahajan and drew his attention to his statement in which he had said that he wanted to make Muslims of Jammu a minority. Abdullah says that he threatened Mahajan that if he did not stop the massascre of Muslims in Jammu, he would arrest him (the Prime Minister). Whether Abdullah had said such a thing to the Prime Minister in November 1947, or not, cannot be confirmed. Obviously, it is an afterthought.

which Abdullah wrote down after three decades, when he was compiling his autobiography, as "Chief Minister" of Jammu and Kashmir, Indian held part of the state.

Thousands of Muslims were thus killed in the urban and the rural areas of the Jammu province. The purpose was to further reduce the proportion of the Muslims in this province, so that, at any point of time, India could lay her claim to some parts of the State on the basis of the two-nation theory. This is because, like Shylock, the Jew of William Shakespeare's *Marchant of Venice*, the Hindus demand the pound of flesh as was demanded by Shylock. They are also conspiring to divide the Muslim Valley of Kashmir into Pandit and Muslim districts, though there is no place in the Valley where the Pandits, I mean the Kashmiri Hindus, are more than five per cent of the population.

The Muslims of the Valley of Kashmir were not spared either. The Muslims were and even now are ninety five percent of the total population in the Valley and thus, there could be no fear of Hindu-Muslim riot. But the Indian army was very much there. When the Indian troops landed in Srinagar, a group of Muslim volunteers of the National Conference, who used to call themselves the *Slaamati Fauj* or the Peace Brigade, were parading on the airport road near Rambagh. And being the nominees and volunteers of the National Conference they were parading in favour of India. Their number was not more than twelve. But the Indian army killed them one by one. The news of their murder by Indian army spread like jungle fire in the city and demonstrations were held against Indian in the city condemning the Indian Government and the army. It was with great difficulty that people were persuaded to go to their homes.

When Azad Kashmir was set free and the Maharaja escaped from Kashmir to Jammu, Hindus of Jammu also packed and started to go to Jammu. There was no petrol for the buses, trucks and other vehicles in

Kashmir Valley. Thus, the services of the *tongawalahs* were utilised by the Hindus of Jammu. It took the *tongawalahs* about a week to carry the Hindus of Jammu to their homes from Srinagar, which job the *tongawalahs*, who all were Muslims, did fairly well. And behold, when they were returning from Jammu to their homes, they were intercepted in the way by the Hindu marauders and killed, their cash and their *tongas* were taken away. This showed the extremist Hindu mentality, treacherous as it was. Instead of being thankful to the poor Muslims *tongawalahs* for carrying the Hindus to Jammu, the other Hindus killed and looted them.

The jails in Kashmir became like concentration camps of Nazi Germany. Worst possible treatment was meted out to the Muslims in the jails. Those non-Muslims, who did not see eye to eye with the Kashmir policy of the government, were also the targets of the atrocities and torture of the Hindus and the National Conferencites.

Anybody, and everybody could be arrested on mere suspicion. The Azad Kashmir Radio Trarkhel, and even the Radio Pakistan, were very popular with the people of Kashmir, whose programmes represented the innermost wishes and sentiments of the people of Kashmir. The Occupied Kashmir puppet regime banned the listening to the Radio Azad Kashmir and the Pakistan Radio. When this did not work, because people were careful not to magnify the volume of the Radio, the National Conferencites, on mere suspicion, would enter a home, violate the privacy of the inmates and confiscate the Radio set for violating the "rules" and listening to the "enemy" Radio. In fact, an ordinance was promulgated by the Government which declared Pakistan the enemy and the properties of many of those Kashmiri people, who had migrated to Pakistan or the free part of Kashmir, were confiscated and attached by the Government of Kashmir.

Thus a Nazi and a Fascist rule was established in Kashmir but Kashmiris faced all this bravely and stubbornly and did not get disappointed because disappointment, is tantamount to disbelief in the Mercy of Allah.

CHAPTER VIII

KASHMIR IN THE UNITED NATIONS

The issue of Kashmir was taken to the United Nation Security Council not by Pakistan, nor by the people of Kashmir, but by India. The case was referred on 31st December, 1947 by India and the plea was taken that Jammu and Kashmir State had become a part of India because of the accession of Maharaja Hari Singh, to the Indian Union, and Pakistan had engineered the attack of the tribesmen, and was supporting local people and lending moral and material support to the raiders. It was suggested by India that action should be taken under Article 35 of the United Nations Charter and that Pakistan should be asked to vacate and that the issue of Kashmir should be settled by the UN between the two countries. Pakistan and India.

The United Nations Security Council took up the issue for discussion and after due deliberation, and passage of preliminary resolutions, an elaborate resolution was passed on 21st April, 1948. in which the principle of a UN supervised plebiscite to solve the issue of Kashmir. was passed. All members, permanent as well as non-permanent. supported the resolution. while USSR abstained from voting. It was so because the USSR was under the impression that India and her leaders were socialists while Pakistan was a "reactionary' Muslim state, which according to communist propaganda had been proposed up by the western nations, which dominated the UN Security Council. What is more the

USSR had the impression that the leadership of Kashmir, in the National Conference, was socialist. The Communist party of Kashmir, which had not been formed separately, was very much a part of the National Conference. The manifesto of the National Conference, adopted in 1944, called the NEW KASHMIR, was a replica of the Constitution of the Soviet Union and had been authored by Communists like B.P.L. Bhedi. We have noted that ideologically the Quit Kashmir agitation of the National Conference in May 1946, had been sponsored by the Communists Party of India. The pro-Pakistan Muslim Conference had alleged in its resolution that the USSR and its Communist friends in Kashmir and British India, wanted to make Kashmir a springboard for further Communist international activity in British India. The sympathies of the USSR were, therefore, with India and with the National Conference leadership of Occupied Kashmir. Even, before the case was taken to the UN by India, the USSR newspapers, hailed the accession of Kashmir to India and wrote that it had rightly been decided by Sheikh Abdullah, who was described as the leader of the Kashmir prolitariat and it was his move that Kashmir should go to India.

Sheikh Abdullah was also a member of the Indian delegation to the UN and he reveals in his autobiography, *Aatish-i-Chinar* (the fire of the plane tree) that when Noel Baker, the British Representative of the UN Security Council spoke, the Indian delegate in the Council, Sir Gopalaswami Ayengar, was somewhat puzzled. Abdullah says that he made a speech and in an untraditional manner, attacked the United Kingdom and said that when the rule of this country ended in any other country where it had been having its imperialist hold, UK resorted to division of that country. He said that the British divided Palestine and even the Arab world and when they left India, they divided it into two countries.

Abdullah's harangue was the last speech of the session and he writes in his book that after the session was over, the first person to shake my hand firmly and strongly was Jacob Malik, the Soviet Representative and he congratulated me for making a "bold speech". Abdullah says that he went to meet Noel Baker, the British Representative in his hotel but the later kept him waiting for some time. and when Abdullah stood to go away in protest. the British delegate came and took him inside. but the meeting did not succeed and ended in a fiasco.

This admission of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah shows that from the very beginning. USSR policy on Kashmir was pro-India and the neutarlity was only artificiaL Otherwise. what right had USSR delegate to congratulate Sheikh Abdullah. who attacked the very division of the subcontinent into two independent countries of Pakistan and Bharat.

Anyhow. leaving Abdullah where he was, the UN went ahead with the Plebiscite idea and on 21st April, 1948, it was decided that a commission be appointed and sent to the subcontinent for an on-spot enquiry and make recommendations to solve the issue of Kashmir. The commission was first called the United Nations Kashmir Commission. but when Pakistan said there were other issues also, it was called the UN Commission for India and Pakistan and first it had three members and then its strength was enhanced to five. One of the members was appointed on the recommendation of India and the other on the recommendation of Pakistan. The UN resolution of 21st April. 1948. is given in the Appendix of this book.

The UNCIP came to Pakistan and India. it went to Kashmir and Azad Kashmir and met the leaders of both the countries. Its recommendations came in form of two resolutions. one on 13th August. 1948 and other on 5th January. 1949.

On 1st January 1949. India and Pakistan agreed to cease-fire in Kashmir. Pakistan admitted before the UN Commission that it had sent some of her troops in Azad Kashmir to defend her own (Pakistan) territory from any possible Indian attack. Had Pakistan not done that, the ill-equipped Azad Kashmir army could have been crushed by the Indian troops, who were using their air power also against the civillian population of Azad and occupied Kashmir.

Indians accepted the decision to decide the fate of Jammu and Kashmir with mental reservations. They were never sincere for a plebiscite. It was in 1948, that Vijay Laxmi Pandit, the sister of the Indian Prime Minister. Nehru. who was India's High Commissioner in the UK, wrote to her brother that he had committed a mistake by agreeing to a plebiscite in Kashmir. But Nehru wrote to her that she need not worry because the conditions of the implementation of the scheme of the plebiscite were such which could never be fulfilled by Pakistan and thus. the plebiscite would never see the order of the day (Shabbir Chaudry from London in his book on Kashmir).

Abdullah rightly said once, that India went to the UN as the plaintiff but returned as the accused. Lot of mischief was incorporated by India in the UNCIP resolutions to safeguard her interests, but the principle of plebiscite was accepted. It seems that the Government of Pakistan did not put up a strong show in the UN, otherwise the resolutions would not have the drawbacks and the limitations which are intrinsic in them.

It was very improper that the withdrawal of the troops of the two countries from Jammu and Kashmir was not made to be simultaneous. The decision that Pakistan would withdraw all her troops first was very unfortunate. And in the body of the resolutions, it was said that when it was notified to India that Pakistan had completely withdrawn from Kashmir, then India would start withdrawal of the bulk of its troops from Kashmir.

Justice and fairplay, as well as practical politics, demanded that the withdrawal should have been simultaneous and both India and Pakistan should have been asked to withdraw all their troops. But in the case of withdrawal, discrimination was made and that obviously, is one of the drawbacks which impeded the implementation to this day.

And why was it allowed to be decided that the formal appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator of the United Nations would be made by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, by which was meant the Government of the Maharaja and his successors, that is the pro-Indian puppets? Poor Azad Kashmir Government figures nowhere in the UNCIP resolutions. It is we who say that it is the local authority for the liberated areas, and the free territory will be administrated by the Azad Kashmir Government till the plebiscite is over and the UN Plebiscite Administrator reports to the Secretary General that the plebiscite has nicely and successfully been over, but the Indians say that after Pakistan army quits, the local authority means the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendents of Police appointed by the pro-Indian puppet regime of Indian held Kashmir. This is the Indian interpretation of the UNCIP resolutions.

The ideal position would have been simultaneous withdrawal of all Indian and Pakistani troops. As regards the security purposes, police in Azad Kashmir and Occupied Kashmir, as well as the Jammu and Kashmir army in occupied Kashmir and the Azad Kashmir Regular Forces in Azad Kashmir, the Gilgit Scouts and the like in the Northern Areas, could help the UN Plebiscite Administrator. But Indian had agreed to the plebiscite formula with the avowed purpose of sabotaging it when the time to implement it came. Thus, when talks started between the UN Commission, India and Pakistan to give practical shape to the demilitarisation formula India dilly dallied with the whole question. There were great differences between Pakistan and India on the quantum of forces to be retained by India during the plebiscite. When this position was reported by the UN Commission to the United Nations, the President of USA, Mr.Truman, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr.Clement Attle, in a joint appeal to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, recommended that the points of differences within the two countries regarding demilitarisation, should be referred to the Plebiscite Administrator nominated by the Secretary General of the United Nations. Pakistan readily accepted this reasonable suggestion, but India rejected it, saying that arbitration was against the sovereignty of India.

This was a bogus plea of the Indian Government. India is a member of the United Nations, in the General Assembly, and it aspires to become a permanent member of the Security Council. Arbitration is an internationally accepted method of solving issues, but when it suits India, she rejects arbitration saying that it would damage her independent status. Nothing could be farther from truth .

Due to this intransigent and unreasonable attitude of India, the UN Commission for India and Pakistan, reported its failure to the UN.

It seems that India's last British Governor General was primarily responsible for forcing Nehru to refer the case of Kashmir to the United Nations. The name and fame of Pandit Nehru was over-estimated by those Indians and their supporters like Mountbatten, who decided to refer the case of Kashmir to the international body. M.N. Roy, a noted political philosopher of India, wrote back in 1948 in the weekly *Independent India* of Calcutta that it was hoped that the "international reputation" of Nehru as a democrat and freedom fighter would get good dividends for India in shape of a verdict against Pakistan from the world body. But that did not happen.

The UN suggested the principle of plebiscite, which India could not run away from. But she tried to create hurdles in the path of the plebiscite and this was known to the whole world then, as it is known now. She was sure from the very beginning that the verdict of the people of Jammu and Kashmir would be against her and the people would vote in favour of Pakistan.

It is incorrect to say that the British Governor General, Lord Mountbatten was neutral in the case of Kashmir. It was he who invented the theory that military assistance could not be sent to Kashmir by India, unless Kashmir acceded to India. We have seen in contemporary history that states seek military assistance from their friends in the present day world, but the countries which offer assistance do not say that the State which requests for assistance should abandon its independence and "accede" to or merge itself in the aid giving country.

If no mischief was involved, India could "assist" the Maharaja without the pre-condition of accession. After all, technically, the Maharaja was an independent ruler. He could be advised to seek the assistance of the United Nations against the tribal invasion.

Joseph Korbel, of Czechoslovakia was the nominee of India on the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and also worked as its chairman for some time. After some years, he wrote a marvellous book on Kashmir, under the title *Danger in Kashmir*, which, to all intents and purposes, is a classic on Kashmir, written by a westerner. His comment on the logic of making conditional Indian assistance of Kashmir, is worth notice. Says he:

"Why did he (Mountbatten) advise that Indian military assistance to the Maharaja must be covered by the legal technicality of accession? Why could he have reasoned that it would be illegal for Kashmir (which was at the time of invasion technically an independent country) to ask for military help from India without preceding the request by accession? He must have assumed that the Government of Pakistan would refuse in any case to recognise the ligality of such accession brought about without prior determination of the will of the Kashmiri people. He must have known that if war over this issue were to develop between these two dominions, it would not be on the basis of the legality of such a method of accession, but rather over the fact itself. Why was there at this point no appeal made to the United Nations from either the technically independent government of Kashmir or from New Dehli? Finally, it is most difficult to understand why no one, particularly Mountabatten, advanced the most obvious idea—that of immediately getting into contact with Karachi Government for concilliation?"

The fact is that in order to please his friends and the partners in to conspiracy to damage Pakistan by annexing Kashmir to India, the British Governor General of Bharat wanted a pretext and an excuse to invade Kashmir. The Maharaja was reluctant in his own personal and dynastic interests, keen to remain Independent, but the matters were precipitated, rather engineered by Mountbatten.

Mountbatten concocted a lie, and a shameless one, when he said in a statement that the tribal invasion of Kashmir was engineered by Mr. Jinnah and when the tribals invasion of Kashmir took place Mr. Jinnah was waiting in Abbotabad to enter himself Kashmir as a victor. The factual position is that the Quaid-i-Azam did not know anything about the tribal attack, which had been organised without his knowledge. Jinnah was never half-hearted in his political decisions. He was a believer in the principle. "Do or die."

The Quaid-i-Azam had proposed that the following steps be taken for the sttlement of the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, and this was the suggestion long before India referred the case to the UN, on the advice of Mountbatten.

1. A proclamation by the two Governors General giving forty-eight hours notice to the opposing forces to cease fire and warning the tribesmen that, if they did not comply, forces of both countries would wage war against them.
2. Simultaneous withdrawal from Kashmir of the Indian troops and the tribesmen.
3. Vesting the two Governors General with plenary of powers to restore peace, undertake the administration of the state and arrange for a plebiscite under their joint control and supervision.

But these sound and reasonable conditions and suggestions were not acceptable to the Indian intruders, who were never sure of the verdict of the people of the Jammu and Kashmir in their favour. Their policy in Kashmir was based on deceit, conspiracy and intrigue. By refering the issue of Kashmir to the UN, they only wanted to gain time so that they could strengthen themselves in Kashmir militarily and otherwise. It was the hope and wish of the Indian rulers that in due course of time, by their vicious propaganda and preaching of the doctrine of Gandhian secularism, they would be able to win over the Kashmiris and "secularise" them. But they have failed to achieve this inspite of the passage of half a century. The Kashmiris are more anti-India today than they were half a century ago. As regards, the Valley of Kashmir, militancy was an unknown commodity for the people of the Kashmiri speaking Valley, but now the Kashmiris, ill-equipped and resourceless though they are, have taught the Indian forces a lesson, and will continue to teach it as long as the Indians do not leave Kashmir for good.

After the UNCIP reported its failure in solving the issue of Kashmir, the Security Council again discussed the issue of Kashmir in February, 1950. The debate included consideration of the proposals of its President, General A.G.L. Monaughton of Canada, which had suggested that a Plebiscite be held in the state to determine the future of Jammu and Kashmir. It was proposed in the Council that a single mediator be appointed to supervise the demilitarisation of Kashmir preparatory to the plebiscite. The Security Council passed the resolutions by eight votes, while two members, India and Yougoslavia abstained and USSR was absent from the meeting. This was passed on March 14, 1950 and Sir Owen Dixon, a jurist from Australia, was appointed the representative of the UN and he was instructed to prepare and supervise the demilitarisation of the State and to go ahead with the other responsibilities of the Commission of the UN which had ceased to exist.

OWEN DIXON'S PROPOSAL[100]

Sir Owen Dixon visited Pakistan and India and both parts of the State on either side of the Cease Fire Line. Sir Owen, in his recommendation, proposed that the plebiscite should be regional rather than overall. He said that the State be divided into three zones or regions, i.e., the part of the State under the control of Pakistan, known as Azad Kashmir and Nothern areas, the Valley of Kashmir coupled with other Muslim majority areas of Jammu, and the Budhist majority Ladakh. Sir Dixon proposed a limited and a regional plebiscite. He said in his report:

"It was conceded that some areas were certain to vote for accession to Pakistan and some for accession to India and by which, without taking a vote therein, they should be allotted accordingly and the plebiscite should be confined only to the uncertain area, which I said appeared to be the Valley of Kashmir and perhaps some adjacent country."

India first showed some interest in the plan of Sir Owen. It seemed that India adopted this suggestion for consideration only to confuse the whole issue, and sabotage the plan in due course of time. The Indians then made strange conditions to be fulfilled by Pakistan before the plebiscite could take place in the Valley of Kashmir, Dixon remarked:

"If I was to succeed in bringing about an agreement upon the matters, preliminary to an overall plebiscite, it would be necessary to meet certain objections which (India) would make. There was first the allegation, so often repeated by India, that Pakistan was an aggressor who had no *locus standi* and whose troops had no title to be within the State. There was the position taken by India that during the period of preparation for a plebiscite, the territory to the west of the cease fire line should not be under the immediate governmental authority and direction of Pakistan or be administered by the Azad Kashmir Government. India had advanced not only the contention to which I have already referred that Pakistan was an aggressor but the further condition that this should be declared.

This demand of the Indians was out of tune. India had not made any such demand when she referred the Kashmir question to the UN Security Council. It was not mentioned in the UN Security Council resolutions or the UNCIP resolutions on Kashmir that India or Pakistan was the aggressor. What is more, as Sir Owen Dixon himself stated, he had not been commissioned by the Security Council to apportion blame or say who was the aggressor and who was not. That was a formal part of the history of the subcontinent. He was commissioned to find out a solution to the issue of Kashmir and he tried his best to solve the issue including the formula of regional plebiscite. He admitted his failure, which of course, was due to the intransigence of India. Said he:

"In the end, I became convinced that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarisation in any such form, or to provisions governing the period of the plebiscite of any such Character as would in my opinion permit the plebiscite being conducted in conditions sufficiently guarding against intimidation and other forms of influence, and abused by which the freedom and the fairness of the plebiscite might be imperilled.

Sir Owen hinted that in due course of time, the Military Observers of the United Nations would have to be withdrawn. He also suggested that the Security Council should press the parties in the dispute, i.e., India and Pakistan, to reduce their military strength holding the Cease Fire line "to the normal protection of a peaceline frontier."

But Pakistan and India both rejected this new suggestion. Pakistan wanted an overall plebiscite in the State to determine the issue of accession and India demanded that her forces alone should remain in control of the State.

Sheikh Abdullah, loyal as ever to his masters in New Delhi, said in a statement that Sir Owen Dixon had failed, as he wanted to please both India and Pakistan. Abdullah called India the victim and Pakistan the aggressor in the Kashmir case. He demanded that the aggressor in Kashmir, by which he meant Pakistan, should be thrown out of Kashmir and the territory in the possession of Pakistan should be restored to India. Thus, it showed that Abdullah was trying to be more loyal than the King himself.

With the failure report of the Australian Jurist, the UN Security Council took up the issue of Kashmir again. The Pakistan Foreign Minister represented the matter and as argued that the National Conference party of Indian-held Kashmir, headed by Sheikh Abdullah, the Indian stooge in the Occupied land, had passed a resolution on October 27, 1950 to the effect that a Constituent Assembly would be conevened in the State and the purpose of the Assembly would be to frame a Constitution for Jammu and Kashmir and also to ratify the "accession" of the State to India.

This resolution was passed on the third anniversary of the Indian military occupation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Sir Muhammad Zafarullah, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, rightly observed.

"Why does India insist on these things which made demilitarisation and therefore, holding of the plebiscite, impossible? For the obvious reason that India's hold over Kashmir is only through its military forces, India does not want to let go, and India knows that if a fair and impartial plebiscite were held, the plebiscite would go heavily against India. Therefore, it is determined to keep its forces in the State and prevent a free vote. That is the situation. It has been repeatedly tried. People started with the hope that India's apprehensions with regard to various matters may have been genuine. They thought they were flimsy but that, supposing they were genuine so far as the Indians are concerned, they should be met. Every possible effort has been made to meet these apprehensions, but India would have none of it. Why? Because India does not desire to go through with the plebiscite".

The Indian representative exclaimed that Kashmir was one of the constituents of the Indian Union, where no Constitution had been framed so far. He argued that there was nothing abnormal in allowing the formation of the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir.

The fact of the matter is that no other State in the Indian Union has a separate Constitution. Kashmir is the only State "within" India which has a separate Constitution, which was framed to dupe the Kashmiris and dupe the outside world. We have seen that this separate Constitution, along with the special article about Kashmir in the Indian Constitution itself, was a lollypop, has eroded. From 1990 to 1996, Indian Government kept the so called Kashmir Constitution under suspension and the Indian President was the sole

Legislator for Kashmir and also the executive head of the State. What is more, the State Constitution was thrown to winds when Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed from Prime Ministership on 8th August, 1953, by the State President but, as has been revealed by Prem Nath Bazaz in the *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* under orders, which were drafted in New Delhi by the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru himself.

But still the Indian delegate in the Security Council said in February 1951, that there was nothing wrong in forming and electing a Constituent Assembly for Kashmir, which "may, if it so desires, express its opinion on this question. It can take no decision on it."

Thus, it was clear that the Indian Government was not going to take any steps to prevent the Kashmir rubber stamp Assembly, which was in the making, from expressing its opinion on the issue of accession. We have seen that on 26th January, 1957, the so called Constituent Assembly, not only "expressed its opinion" on the issue of accession to India, but confirmed that so called accession. The leader of the house, Sheikh Abdullah, who was the real founder and creator of the Constituent Assembly, was behind bars in the Jammu province jail of Kud and from there he was smuggling letters to the Secretary General of the United Nations, saying that the meeting of the Constituent Assembly which claimed to be ratifying the accession of the Maharaja of Kashmir to India, was unconstitutional and had no right to express its opinion on or ratify the accession to India. He also wrote to the President of the Constituent Assembly to make it possible for him (Sheikh) to attend the Assembly session so that he could also speak out his mind but that was not allowed.

Abdullah, still on the side of India, said on May 4, 1951:

"We have decided after long deliberations to convene the Constituent Assembly to decide the future shape and affiliation of Kashmir, and no power can veto its decision."

It is a fact that Pandit Nehru had agreed with the idea of a separate Constituent Assembly of Kashmir when Abdullah had assured him that the Assembly would support the accession of Kashmir to India and in fact, ratify the instrument of accession of the Maharaja. Abdullah's comment in his autobiography, which he wrote when after twenty two years of wild goose chase, he had again patched up with India, is very pertinent.

"It was imperative that we should know what would be the position of Kashmir when the Constitution of the country (India) was framed. From our side, Mr. Bakhshi, Mr. Beg, Mir Qasim and D.P. Dhar took part in the talks and after sometime I also joined them. We had decided between ourselves that we would stick to the position that had been taken in the Instrument of Accession, but the Union leaders wanted that we should, like other native states, merge our State into the larger sea of the Centre. But our peculiar circumstances did not allow us to do this. Firstly, because Kashmir was the only Muslim majority State in the subcontinent which decided to accede to Indian Union. Secondly, our State was largely surrounded by Pakistan. But the Indian leaders had reservations in their mind and they wanted to bring us to the level of other states which had acceded to the Union. . . The states were advised not to form their own Constituent Assemblies, but to enforce the Central Constitution in their respective areas and not to frame their own constitution. Various native states were joined together in groups and one governor and deputy governor was appointed for them. They were called *Raja Parmukhs* and up-rajparmukhs (Pages 520 to 533, *Aatish-i-Chinar*).

KASHMIR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY[101]

"The rulers in New Delhi had fears that once a separate Constituent Assembly was formed for Kashmir, the Central attacks on the autonomy of Kashmir would become ineffective. Even the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru got perturbed. In view of our stress on the issue, Delhi agreed to the formation of a separate Constituent Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir."

"The first step which was taken by the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir was to put an end to the heriditary rule of the Maharaja. We objected to the appointment of the Governor as the Head of the State. Then Maulana (Abul Kalam Azad) suggested the title of the Head of the State as "*Sadr-i-Riyasat*" (State President) and he said that the meaning of both the terms was just the same. It was agreed that the State President or *Sadr-i-Riyasat* would be elected by the State Assembly and his term would be five years. On my proposal, Karan Singh was elected State-President on 17th November, 1952, for five years."

"Formation of the Constituent Assembly was no easy job for us. The Central Government had given the permission to form this Assembly with a heavy heart, but their attitude towards us was one of no-confidence and lack of faith."

"Their attitude towards us was like that of a suspicious-minded husband about his beautiful and coquetish wife. The Indian leaders were keeping a close watch over the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. Their view was that the framing of the (Kashmir) Constitution only on the basis of the Instrument of Accession of the State to India was not enough, because, according to them, many matters were incomplete and defective. The words of Maulana Azad were: "There are some necessary matters which must be clarified before hand. Will the jurisdiction of the Superme Court extend to Kashmir? Will the State be integrated financially with the Union or not? What will be the position of the flag of the Indian Union in Kashmir? Will the Central Election Commission have jurisdiction on Kashmir? . . . (Pages 47 to 544 of *Aatish-i-Chinar* under the heading "Constituent Assembly").

Abdullah continues in his autobiography:

"On 16th May, 1953, when pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came to Kashmir for a week, he advised me to convene the meeting of the Constituent Assembly and ratify through it the accession of Kashmir to India. When he repeated his advice, I told him that we could not do so. I reminded him that India had often told the world that the issue of Kashmir was to be settled by a plebiscite and if we ratified the accession through the Constituent Assembly, what face could we show to the world (how could we face the world?) (pages 547-548 of *Aatish-i-Chinar*).

These were the days when Abdullah had already undergone a metemorphosis and he had been talking of the right of self determination and the plebiscite. Nehru, says Abdullah, was much perturbed by the comments of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. In 1952, Delhi Agreement was also arrived at between Nehru and Abdullah, but even that did not end the estrangement which was taking place between Kashmir and Delhi.[102]

The Constituent Assembly of Kashmir, whatever may have been its worth was like a thorn in the side of the Indian rulers. On the suggestion of Nehru that Abdullah should draw up some plan for the solution of the Kashmir tangle, an eight-member working group was formed by the National Conference, with Abdullah as the chief, and more than twenty proposal came under consideration, but ultimately, there was agreement on four alternate plans:

ALTERNATE PLANS FOR KASHMIR

1. Plebiscite in the State according to the conditions of the meeting of 3rd June (1953). (In that, three options had been suggested for the solution of Kashmir Issue, namely accesion to Pakistan, accession to India or

independence of the whole State).

2. Outright independence of the State.

3. Independence of the whole State but joint control on Foreign Affairs and Defence by India and Pakistan.

4. Dixon Plan (Zonal plebiscite by forming three zones) with the option of independence for the area (Valley and adjoining areas) where the plebiscite was to take place.

JAMMU HINDUS' AGITATION AGAINST ABDULLAH

When these proposals were sent to the Prime Minister of India, in June 1953, there was no doubt left in his mind that Sheikh Abdullah was bent upon revolt and that he had ceased to be the loyal stooge.

The reasons of this estrangement were that Sheikh Abdullah introduced agrarian reforms in the State and abolished absentee landlordism. The axe of this policy of the "land to tillers" programme fell mostly on the Hindu landlords. The Jammu Hindus formed themselves into a communalist organisation, called the *Praja Parishad* and started an agitation against the Government of Sheikh Abdullah. These communalists of Jammu did not agree with the "anti-Centre" activities of Abdullah. They, with the help of Hindus all over India, raised the slogan that there could be only one President for entire India, one language and one constitution, while there were two Presidents in Jammu and Kashmir, one the Indian President and the other the "State President" in the person of Karan Singh, there were two languages, Hindi at the Centre and Urdu in Kashmir, there were two constitutions, one, the Union Constitution, and the other the Indian-held Kashmir Constitution.

The slogans they raised were:

Saray desh ka ek vidhan (Constitution).

Saray desh ki ek zubaan (one Language)
Saray desk ka ek Pradhan (one President)

When Nehru came to know that Abdullah had sent copies of the June 1953 meeting to Pakistan and USA, he flew into a rage and decided to dismiss Abdullah. That was done on 8th August, 1953. Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad was appointed the Prime Minister in place of Abdullah and the first thing he did was to arrest Abdullah and his friends.

The entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, and mostly the Valley of Kashmir, was shaken by the dismissal and imprisonment of Abdullah and his colleagues. Had Abdullah been removed under some charges of corruption, embezzlement or denial of human and political rights of the people of Kashmir, and had he been charge sheeted for that, nobody would have had any sympathy for him, but his crime was out and out political and the whole world, and the Kashmiris, knew that this time he had been victimised because he had started lending his support to the right of self determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and that he had not agreed to the suggestion of Nehru that the Constituent Assembly should ratify the accession of Kashmir to India.

The correspondence which passed between Nehru and Abdullah during the pre-August 1953 period reveals that Abdullah favoured the right of self-determination at that time and had refused to dance to the tune of his erstwhile masters.

In 1955, with the blessings of Sheikh Abdullah, his right-hand man Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beg, formed the Plebiscite Front in place of the National Conference. The National Conference of Sheikh Abdullah had been hijacked by Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad with the support of official Indian media and he described himself as the President of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. The members of the Constituent-cum-

Legislative Assembly barring just two dozen of them, sided with the rising sun and gave a vote of confidence to Bakshi, who was holding the field on behalf of India.

And under the leadership of Bakhshi and Sadiq, and other stooges of India, the Kashmir consently framed the constitution and then declared that it would ratify the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union.

BOGUS RATIFICATION OF BOGUS ACCESSION

The consititution of Occupied Kashmir was thus, finalised in November 1956, and the day of ratification of the so called accession to Indian constitution on 26th January, 1957. It took the Kashmir Assembly three or four years to frame the constitution, in absence of Abdullah, who was in jail and to give a proof of their loyalty to the Indian masters, the bunch of sycophants in Kashmir decided that the adoption of the Kashmir constitution and ratification of the most bogus accession should take place on the anniversary of the adoption of the Indian constitution by the Constituent Assembly of India.

This action was not taken lying down by the people of Kashmir, nor by the Government of Pakistan.

The Government of Pakistan took up the matter with the Security Council of the United Nations in right earnest and the issue was debated by the Council and the general consensus was that the Indian-sponsored move in Kashmir, to get the bogus accession ratified by the bogus Assembly was against the UNSC and the UNCIP resolutions on the issue of Kashmir passed thus far.

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, who was a detenue without trial at that time, wrote a letter to his erstwhile comrade and follower, G.M.Sadiq and urged him to allow him(Abdullah) his right to address the Assembly which he (Sheikh Abdullah) had brought into being. He refuted in his letter that he had conspired to make Kashmir another Korea. Abdullah wrote to him in 1956 that he, as the leader of the house, had a right to join the Assembly session. The Sheikh wrote to Sadiq that Indian army had been deployed against the people who were demonstrating against the dismissal and imprisonment of himself. Sadiq wrote back to him that Indian army had not been deployed against the demonstrators, but Abdullah quoted the book of Lord Birdwood *Two Nations and Kashmir* in which the British author had pointed out, "The vacations and the leave of the armymen had been stopped. In the bazaars of Srinagar army tanks could be seen parading from the morning of 9th August(1953), and on central and important points of the city, the famous Gorkha battalions had been posted."

Abdullah wrote to Sadiq that the people had lost faith in the Assembly and that the unrepresentative government had no right to impose a constitution on the people. Abdullah also demanded fresh elections to the Assembly after the resignation of the Government, but Sadiq refused to oblige Abdullah.

It was at this juncture that Abdullah wrote a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations on ratification of the socalled accession of Hari Singh by the Constituent Assembly. But Abdullah, very dishonestly, avoided mention of this letter to the UN Chief in his autobiography so that his Indian masters, with whom he patched up in 1974, should not feel offended.

Anyhow, the Security Council did take the notice and passed the following resolution, summing up the earlier ones.

Action of Constituent Assembly cannot decide future of Kashmir, says Security Council Resolution Proceedings of the Security Council, January February 1957.

"On February 21 (1957): The Security Council requested its President (Gunner Jarring of Sweden) to examine with the two Governments any proposal likely to promote settlement of the Kashmir issue having regard to the earlier resolutions of the Council and the UNCIP (United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan). By an earlier resolution of January 24, 1957, the Council had affirmed its old stand to determine Kashmir's future by plebiscite and declared that the action by the Kashmir assembly and its support by the parties would not constitute disposition of the State in keeping with that principle."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON JANUARY 24, 1957.

"Having heard statements from the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan, concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir:"

"Reminding the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in its Resolutions of 21st April, 1948, 3rd June, 1948, 14th March, 1950, and 30th March, 1950, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan Resolutions of 13th August, 1948 and 5th January, 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations."

"Reaffirms the affirmation in its Resolution of March 30, 1951, and declares that the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the "All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" and any action that the Assembly may have taken or might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof, or action by the parties concerned in support of any such action by the Assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle."

"Decides to continue its consideration of the dispute."

ROLE OF USSR IN KASHMIR ISSUE

It was in 1952, that the USSR broke its silence when its Representative in the United Nations Security Council, Mr. Jacob Malik, intervened in the debate on Kashmir and denounced the "Plans" of the United States of America and the United Kingdom to prolong the dispute between India and Pakistan in Kashmir. For the first time, it was alleged by USSR representative that the purpose of the Western powers was to convert Kashmir into an Anglo-American base. He said:

"The USSR Government considers that the Kashmir question can be solved successfully only by giving the people of Kashmir an opportunity to decide the question of Kashmir's constitutional status by themselves without outside interference. This can be achieved if that status is determined by a Constituent Assembly democratically elected by the people."[103]

Pakistan resented this stance of the USSR representative and so did the Kashmiris, because at that stage, it was only the "Constituent Assembly" of Occupied Kashmir that was in existence. Pakistan and Azad Kashmiris naturally felt that Russia had broken her silence only to lend moral support to Indian held Kashmir. It was during that very period that the pro-Communist President/Speaker of the Constituent Assembly of Indian held Kashmir, G.M. Sadiq, proposed that a Commission of Pakistan, India, USSR and China should be formed to help in the solution of the issue of Kashmir. Pakistan foreign minister was given to understand by his Soviet counterpart that what his country had in mind was not the Constituent Assembly of Indian held Kashmir but a democratically elected Constituent Assembly, but as later on events and developments proved, the Soviet leaders had in their mind the socalled legislative-cum-constituent assembly of Indian held Kashmir which was presided over by a communist fellow-traveller in the person of Kh. Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq. The explanation given to Pakistan's Foreign Minister was just a diplomatic trick.

And when after two years, Pakistan entered into a Security Agreement with the United States of America, India took the world by a storm and Pandit Nehru started screaming that the balance of power in the subcontinent had been upset by the Pakistan—USA agreement and now the proposed plebiscite scheme could not be implemented in Kashmir. This was the repetition of the story of the wolf who accused a lamb firstly of making the water muddy, when it was flowing from the side of the wolf to the side of the lamb. When the poor lamb explained that it was not he but the wolf himself who was making the water muddy, the wolf asked the lamb why he had abused him a year ago. The lamb said that his age was six months only and thus he could not have abused him a year ago. Then the wolf said "alright it must have been your father who must have abused me." Having said this the wolf devoured the poor lamb. In the same manner, Indian, supported by USSR, punished the poor people of Kashmir by denying them the right of self determination not because of any fault of theirs, but because their friend and neighbour, Pakistan, had entered into a security agreement with the United States of America.

Kashmiris considered USSR as a banner-holder of the right of self-determination. The USSR was a Union of the Socialist Republics, each one of whom, according to the Constitution of the Union, had even the right to secede from the Union and it was very strange that USSR was putting stumbling blocks in the path of the plebiscite in Kashmir and thwarting the UN efforts to enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their own future by the exercise of the right of self determination.

On 21st March, 1951, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaqut Ali Khan, without naming the USSR, had condemned foreign hand in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy case. When the two Soviet Leaders, Nikita Khruschew, the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the USSR, and Mr. Bulganin visited India in December 1955, and also specially went to Kashmir, they left nobody in doubt that they were in fullest agreement with the Indians and their agents in Kashmir. They addressed a public meeting in Srinagar, with Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, then Prime Minister of Occupied Kashmir as their host. Both Bulganin and the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said that there was no doubt that Kashmir was a part and parcel of India. Khruschew kissed Bakhshi Ghulam on the forehead publicly and told him. "If you fear any aggression on your State, call us, and we will come to your help from across your mountains. "And saying this he pointed his finger towards the Mountains of Gilgit which separate Kashmir from the then USSR. Between Gilgit and Tajikistan is a small patch of 17 miles width, called Wakhan, which belongs to Afghanistan. It separates the State of Jammu and Kashmir (Gilgit) from Tajikistan, which, at that time was part of USSR but is now a free and independent country with absolute Muslim majority like Kashmir.

Thus, the issue of Kashmir which at one time was an issue between the Maharaja of Kashmir and the people of the State, who were demanding their political and human rights, first became an India Pakistan question, then an international problem, thanks to India who took it to the Security Council and ultimately, it was drawn into the cold war between the capitalist West and the communist Russia. In 1958, and earlier too, the State of Jammu and Kashmir could not be demilitarised and peace-keeping troops of smaller members of the United Nations could not be inducted into Kashmir because of the Soviet veto, which was used to bail out India, the usurper of Kashmir, by a Union or a Federation, the USSR, which called itself the champion of the downtrodden people and the underdog.

Had not the USSR bailed out India during all these past years, Kashmir issue would have been solved long long ago, and there would have been no major issue to disturb peace in the sub-continent. USSR's attitude on Kashmir did not remain unchanged. At the time of the 1965 war, she played a comparatively positive and neutral role and tried to bring about a realistic rapproachment between Pakistan and India on the issue of Kashmir, but again, during 1971, her sympathies were again with India to separate the eastern wing of Pakistan from the western wing. During the same period, i.e., 1971, she published an atlas, which contained a map in which the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, including Gilgit and Baltistan and also Azad Kashmir, was shown as the part and parcel of India. Kashmiri leaders and journalists drew the attention of the Pakistan Foreign Office towards this and suggested that the matter be taken up with the USSR officially so that the latter withdrew the map at least from circulation and regretted having published it from Moscow.

At the time of the signing of the Simla Agreement in July 1972, the role of USSR is said to have been better and that country is said to have played some part in making the two countries to agree to the conclusion of the Agreement. It has been reported that even when the Tashkent Declaration was signed on 10th January 1966, in the Uzbek city of that name, USSR urged the two parties to solve the issue of Kashmir according to the wishes of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, but nothing practical came out of it and the poor people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir continue to suffer great hardships because of the highly pro-India attitude of the USSR, which, for all practical purposes, aided and abetted the agression of India on Kashmir.

The latest on this topic is the statement which was attributed to the Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister of the USSR who arrived in Pakistan in March 98 this year and was reported to have said that his country would mediate between India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. It was followed by the visit of the Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan to Russia, who said in an interview to a Russian paper that the meditation of Russia in the dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir would be welcome, but a clarification has been issued by the Russian representative in New Delhi. A report from New Delhi carried out by Pakistani press from the ANN news agency, says that the chief of the Asian Department of the Russian Ministry of External Affairs has siad that the Russian Deputy Minister Foreign Affairs had NOT made any offer of mediation on the issue of Kashmir. He had said only in answer to a suggestion that Russia could mediate only when Pakistan and India both requested his country to do so. He is also reported by the ANN to have said that raising the issue of Kashmir at international fora is tantamount to violation of the Simla Agreement. According to the ANN report of the Russian spokesman on Asian affairs has said that there is no change in Russia's policy on the issue of Kashmir.

Some of the statements of foreign dignitaries are sometimes misinterpreted by some of our writers and political observers. The fact of the matter is that Russia has her own problems and commitments. Same is the case with America, which has always said that Kashmir is a dispute which must be solved according to the wishes of the people of the State and in a peaceful manner. But even the Great America never went beyond that and this has amounted to inaction and culpable silence over the killings and murders going on in Kashmir. Now and then, the American Human rights activists and diplomats shed tears over the condition of the people of the Occupied State but that has not improved matters, Americans, though, they played the leading part in the adoption of the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and its Commission for India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir, it is a fact that that has not brought any substantial relief to the afflicted people of Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. If, in the changed circumstances, the eastern powers, in fact the eastern ones, also cooperate with each other, even then a solution of the issue of Kashmir could be brought about which would bring about normalisation between India and Pakistan and also satisfy the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The UN resolutions are still workable. If there are any shortcomings and drawbacks in them, those can be removed. Where there is a will, there is a way.

ABDULLAH ON THE ATTITUDE OF USSR

The unreasonable attitude of USSR has been best explained by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in his autobiography. Abdullah relates a Kashmiri allusion, or a proverb, which says that a camel ate up the field of cotton in Khanabal, a southern town of Kashmir, but for this crime of the camel, the nose of a comber of cotton, was chopped off in Khadanyar. The exact wording of the Kashmiri allusion, called *talmih* in Arabic and also in Urdu, is: *Khanabaleh tsachayi woontan kapus, teh Khadanyare tsachayekh doonis nus:* "Khanbal denotes South in Kashmir and Khadanyar denotes the North. This is as we say in English "Poles apart". The crime of eating up the field of cotton was committed by a camel in a Southern town but the carder of cotton, called "doon" in Kashmiri was arrested in a Northern town or village and his nose was chopped off for the crime of the camel. Thus, says Abdullah, the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir was opposed by the Soviet leaders because Pakistan had entered into defence and security agreement with the United States of America.

Abdullah has made a good opinion here, but he forgets that the mess created in Kashmir is of his own making. In his same autobiography, he mentions that when he went to the United Nations Security Council as a member of the Indian delegation, for the first and the last time in his life in 1948, he made a speech which he says was disliked by the British delegate to the Security Council. Abdullah in his harangue, denounced the Birtish as imperialists and said that wherever they were forced to quit, they divided the land. He said that Palestine had been divided by the British and likewise they had divided India into Pakistan and Bharat before quitting. At that time, Abdullah was with the Indians and pretended to be more Indian than the Indians themselves, because from a prisoner, he had been made the Administrator and then the Prime Minister of the Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Abdullah says that after he made the speech, the USSR delegate in the Security Council embraced him and thanked him for making such a speech against the British. So in 1948, like any Congressite Muslim, Abdullah opposed the independence of Pakistan, calling it to be part of the imperialist game.

It was in pursuance of this policy of USSR that the USSR leaders, in 1955, lionised Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad and assured him of help in case his "state" was attacked.[104]

Our purpose is not to determine what the Security Council of the United Nations did or did not do. We have to show what the people of Kashmir themselves did for their freedom, Kashmiris did not go to the UN Security Council so far directly. The first President of Azad Kashmir, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, was of course included in the Pakistani delegation to the Security Council in 1948, but he did not represent the Kashmir case in that august body. That was ably done by the Pakistan delegation. Sardar Ibrahim, of course did lot of useful lobbying for the Kashmir struggle. During all these years, Kashmiris have been sending memoranda to the UN Security Council, and also attending the meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva for the last few years, and making lot of contribution to the struggle of Kashmiris for their political and human rights.

Unfortunately, Kashmiris were at no stage represented as a party in the United Nations. The Azad Kashmir Government could have claimed at least observer status in the UN, but the leaders of Kashmiris are themselves not agreed on this aspect of the Kashmir struggle. The first regular Government of Azad Kashmir had a "Foreign Secretary" in the person of Prof. Qazi Zaheeruddin, a Pakistani, but he was the first and the last Secretary. However, people of Jammu and Kashmir have been holding demonstrations before the UN Headquarters in Lake Success, in New Delhi, and before the United Nations Military Groups in Rawalpindi. Pakistan, Srinagar and at Muzaffarabad to press their demands. The All Parties Hurriet Conference has been given observer status by the OIC which has also formed a Kashmir Contact Group.

Kashmir is an international issue and the "credit" of internationalising it goes to the Indians, who rushed to the Security Council in the hope of getting a verdict against Pakistan. But the effort, since it was insincere, proved counter-productive for India. This reminds us of one of the famous verses of Iqbal:

Hai ayan yurishe Tatar kay afsanay say
Pasban mil gayay Kaabay ko sanam khanay say

(It is evident from the episode of the attack of the Tartars (on Baghdad) that the holy Kabah was provided guards from the idol-house itself).

It is well-known that the Mangols, (Tartars) attacked the seat of Muslim caliphate Baghdad, with a view to destroy it, but it so happended that very soon, by coming into contact with the Muslim society and the noble principles of Islam, they themselves were converted to Islam and from raiders they became defenders of Islam. We cannot give all this credit to the Hindudom called India, but the fact remains that they committed the blunder of their life by going to the UN Security Council. Even Sheikh Abdullah, the chief agent of Indian in Kashmir who calls himself the chief architect of accession of Kashmir to India, says in his autobiography, that India went to the United Nations as a prosecutor and as a complainant (*mustaghis* is the word he has used), but returned as the *mulzam* or the accused. He says that Pakistan pleaded her case so well in the Security Council that tables were turned against India.

PLEBISCITE—THE BESTWAY OUT

The war of 1947 was thrust on the Kashmiri people. The best course was to hold a referendum on the question of accession, as was done in the NWFP and Sylhet, the Muslim majority district of Assam, which became part of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). But most unfortunately, the odds were against the Kashmiris. The Maharaja, at first, was keen to remain independent, but he, at the same time did not like to share power with his subjects and was averse to democratic reform. The founder of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muahmmad Ali Jinnah, tried his best to accommodate the Maharaja, and said that the Maharaja could join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or set up his own Constituent Assembly. But the Maharaja acted foolishly and the result was that he committed a political suicide. Not only was the State which his ancestors had carved out shattered, the people of the State had also to face destruction, and even his heriditary rule came to an ignoble end.

The people of Poonch, a number of whom had served in the first and the second world war, liberated a considerable part of their district by dint of arms.

Muzaffarabad was liberated by the joint efforts of the Muslim personnel of the Dogra army and the tribesmen from the tribal area. Gilgit was freed by the local scouts and the Muslim personnel of the Dogra army.

THE PEACEFUL MOVEMENT OF KASHMIRIS

The freedom movement of the sub-continent itself was essentially a peaceful movement, denoted by jail-going, non-cooperation agitation, and to be sure, the Pakistan movement under the able leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, was unique and different from the *satyagraha* of the Hindus. Muslim leaders and people had never shirked jail going and non-co-operation with the British rulers, but it was found that the harvest of the sacrifices of the Muslims were reaped by the Hindu leaders, Quaid-i-Azam did not rule out the possibility of going to jail when it was feared at one stage that the British were not in a mood to agree to the demand of a separate independent homeland of the Muslims and at that time, even the Quaid declared his readiness to go to jail, but the statesmanship of the Quaid made matters easy for the Muslims.

As regards Kashmir, under the influence of the politics of the sub-continent, jail going and agitation was the order of the day from 1931 to 1939, when the Muslim Conference was converted into National Conference. When the Muslim Conference was revived in 1941, it associated itself with the All India Muslim League. Its programme had to be different from the followers of the Congress. Thus, when in order to regain his lost popularity, Sheikh Abdullah started his Quit Kashmir agitation, Quaid-i-Azam urged the Muslims of Kashmir to remain aloof from it. But, in the local conditions, three or four of the leaders of the Muslim Conference also courted arrest, but the "Nationalists" exploited this for their own ends, so much so that even Sheikh Abdullah has written in *Aatish-i-Chinar* that

"Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas meri himayat mein jail chalay gayay" (Chaudhry, Ghulam Abbas courted arrest in my support) which on the very face of it, is incorrect.

In fact, Kashmiris of the Valley could never imagine that a time would come when they would have to take up arms for their freedom. Thus, till 1988, they launched one agitation after the other for the intensification of the freedom struggle of Jammu and Kashmir. The Muslim Conference was banned and most of its prominent leaders migrated to Pakistan. When Abdullah and associates were dismissed and thrown into jails and the National Conference, like the Occupied Kashmir Government, was taken over by Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad, Abdullah and Mirza Muahmmad Afzal Beg formed the Plebiscite Front whose aim was the solution of the accession issue of Kashmir in a plebiscite under UN auspices.

But, it is to be noted that the freedom movement, for the right of self-determination of Kashmir did not start with Abdullah's dismissal. It was already there in the shape of the Muslim Conference, and smaller but active groups like the Kashmir Socialist Party, the Kisan Mazdoor Conference and Kashmir Democratic Union, headed by Prem Nath Bazaz. In 1953, before the dismissal of Abdullah, Mr.Mohiuddin Kara, brother-in-law and cousin of G.M. Sadiq, broke away from the National Conference and organised the Kashmir Political Conference, whose sole aim was the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir so that Kashmir could accede to Pakistan. But, when the Plebiscite Front was formed in 1955, for about two decades, it dominated the politics in Occupied Kashmir. It does not mean that other elements were not active. When the holy relic, the hair of the Prophet of Islam (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) was removed from the shrine of Hazratbal a gigantic agitation erupted in the State and young Mir Waiz Muhammad Farooq was made the Chairman of Holy Relic Action Committee. When the relic was traced out, Maulavi Farooq formed the Kashmir Awami Action Committee, which worked for the freedom of Kashmir in its own way and is now headed by his illustrious son Umar Farooq, who is also the Chief of the All Parties Hurriet Conference.

PRO-FREEDOM PARTIES IN OCCUPIED KASHMIR

The Plebiscite Front worked hard for the freedom of Kashmir. It published some literature and also started a weekly in Urdu called *Mahaz* from Srinagar. Normal political activity was denied to the Front by the authorities but the towering personality of Abdullah continued to threaten and challenge the accession to India. Abdullah was released for a short span after five years detention without trial in 1958, but was arrested again as he continued his activities and speeches. Then a Kashmir Conspiracy case was framed against him and his associates, and they were alleged to have accepted money and material help from Pakistan in order to subvert the State of Kashmir and effect its accession to Pakistan. The proceedings of the case continued for quite a number of years but then came the holy relic movement of 1963, which shook the foundations of Kashmir's accession to India and even Pandit Nehru was convinced that Kashmir could not be held by force any longer. Abdullah was released and the case against him and his companions was withdrawn. Then Sheikh Abdullah came to Pakistan in May 1964, at his own initiative and with the reluctant permission of Pandit Nehru. When the Sheikh was in Muzaffarabad to address a public meeting, Pandit Nehru died of heart failure and Abdullah had to cut short his visit to Pakistan and go to Delhi to join the burial ceremony of his friend. That was Abdullah's first and last visit to Pakistan after the emergence of this independent Muslim country. His son Farooq, who is now the Chief

Minister of Kashmir, and was born in Lahore, visited Pakistan several times. His last visit was in 1974, when he was a guest of the AK wing of the Plebiscite Front and the Kashmir Liberation Front.

In 1965, Abdullah performed pilgrimage to Makkah along with his wife and Afzal Beg. Two Nasser, was given to the present author by Kh. Ghulam Din Wani, former minister of Azad Kashmir, who was sent to contact Abdullah in Makkah. The text of the memorandum is worth reading. It is as follows: It first of all appeared in the weekly *Insaf* Rawalpindi, Muzaffarabad on 26th October, 1982 and was also included by the present author in his paper read in a seminar of the Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, under the heading "Possible solutions of Kashmir" in the year 1992.[105]

PLAN FOR KASHMIR SOLUTION PRESENTED BY SHEIKH ABDULLAH TO PRESIDENT NASSER OF EGYPT

"The dispute between India and Pakistan with regard to the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has strained the relations of the two countries for the last 17 years and now and again, has been leading to (such) an aggravating situation that at any time its continued tension may burst into a shooting war, leading to devastating consequences in that region of the world. Moreover, this situation has saddlerd both the countries with huge military expenses which has crippled both economically. Yet, another tragic aspect of this situation is the continued agony for the 5 million people of the State, whose economy and well-being is completely paralysed due to the resultant uncertainty and insecurity.

The urgency and importance of an early settlement of this dispute cannot, therefore, be over-emphasized. Many statesmen and friendly countries have, during the past 17 years, made a number of proposals, suggesting a peaceful settlement of the dispute. No doubt, the best and most democratic solution could be through a plebiscite, to which not only both the countries but also the UNO is committed. Should however, holding of a plebiscite not be feasible, there are other practicable solutions, suggested in the past. One such solution was made by Sir Owen Dixon, the UN Representative appointed to negotiate a settlement between India and Pakistan. Broadly speaking, Sir Owen Dixon proposed that:

(a) The Southern parts of the State, comprising Kathua, Jammu and parts of Udhampur districts (now being predominently Hindu areas) may be annexed with India.

(b) The area, now known as Azad Kashmir, and Gilgit Baltistan, being exclusively Muslim, be annexed with Pakistan.

(c) The Valley of Kashmir, along with the adjoining areas across Banihal (i.e., the district of Doda and the Niabat of Arnas, Gulab Garh) to be allowed to decide its future through a plebiscite. Leh is to follow the result of plebiscite, held in this territory (Kargil being exclusively Muslim in population to go with the Valley).

"Sir Owen Dixon took a detached view of things and considered this as the best practicable solution under the circumstances. It appears to be a fair method of resolving the present tangle. In order to avoid a number of complications, that might arise by holding a plebiscite immediately in the territory referred to in clause (c) above a reasonable way can be found in keeping the said territory under UN Trusteeship for a specified period (i.e., 5 to 10 years). The people of the territory can be given an opportunity for the exercise of that right of self-determination in a suitable way, after that period. In the interim period, it is hoped that tempers will cool down and much of the emotional factor, now surcharging the situation, will die out. Further, the interim period can be utilised for the development of these areas towards which the two countries, as well as the UNO will suitably contribute.

The above proposal can be a very good basis for discussion between India and Pakistan and Kashmir. It is hoped that friendly countries, interested in a settlement will take up this proposal for extensive lobbying at the diplomatic levels, as well as the international conferences.

Needless to say that as earnest effort in this direction will be the greagtest service to the cause of perace in the world.

S.M. Abdullah, at Makkah Mukaramah ... 1965.

Note:

Sheikh Abdullah kept on harping on this formula for a pretty long time, when ultimatley, exact ten years after the above proposal was submitted by him to President Jamal Abdul Nasir, struck a bargain with the Indian Government and became the Chief Minister of Indian held Kashmir with the blessings and active help of the Indira Congress. Abdullah has, in *Aatish-i-Chinar* mentioned in detail how he was kept a State guest by Nasser in 1965 and his offer to help in the solution of the issue of Kashmir, but has not mentioned this memorandum because when he wrote his book, he had already compromised with India. Abdullah was now trying to forget his past.

DIXON PLAN ON KASHMIR

As we see, the formula of Sheikh Abdullah, is almost the same as the formula of Sir Owen Dixon, the Australian Jurist, who, on the failure of the UN Commission to hold the plebiscite in Kashmir, was sent by the Security Council to devise some other way out of the impasse in Kashmir. He suggested the "pragmatic" way out, that predominently non-Muslim areas of the State should go to India and the Muslim areas which are already on the side of Pakistan, namely Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan, with or without plebiscite, could go to Pakistan and in the rest of the Valley and Muslim majority areas of Jammu province, should be the third unit and a plebiscite should be held regarding its future. It was presumed that this part of the State, being Muslim majority, would choose to remain autonomous and have friendly and good neighbourly relations with both India and Pakistan. India at one time seemed to accept this solution but backed out when Sir Dixon wanted Nehru to declare so before Pakistan did.

Mr. Minoo Massani, author of *Zulfi My friend*, who was in the Swatantra Party of Rajgopal Acharya, writes that when J.P. Narayan came to Pakistan in search of peace on the issue of Kashmir between Pakistan and India, he met Ayub Khan and wanted to know what could be the compromise formula for the solution of Kashmir. Ayub Khan, says Massani, told him about the Dixon formula and said that India and Pakistan should guarrantee the freedom of the autonomous Valley, while western Kashmir should go to Pakistan and the non-Muslim majority areas to India. J.P. Narayan carried this message to Shastri, the Indian Prime Minister, who told J.P. in Hindi. "*General Sahib nayto baat achhikahi hai, parantu mein kia karoon, nah to yert baat Congress Manegey aur nah parliament*" (General Sahib has said something good, but what can I do, because niether the (Indian National) Congress will agree to it, nor will the Parliament agree to it?)

This was the formula of the Sheikh all the years before his second prostration before the Hindustani leaders in 1974. When Nehru asked him to submit proposals for the solution of the Kashmir issue, this was one of the proposals and strange as may seem, one of the top-ranking leaders of the All Parties Hurriet of Kashmir, Professor Abdul Ghani But, Chief of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference of the Occupied part, also likes this solution. He from time to time issues statements in support of this proposal. One of the statements carried by the daily *Muslim* Islamabad, from its correspondent in Srinagar, Zafar Meraj, is as follows:

Dixon Plan Finds Strong Votary in Kashmir Solution

Zafar Miraj, Srinagar, Dec. 2. The Dixon Plan, providing for division of the Muslim majority areas of the Stategoing to Pakistan and the remaining part going to India has found a strong votary in prominent Kashmiri politician a leader of the Muslim Conference, Prof. Abdul Ghani Butt, "The implementation of the Dixon Plan can be the best possible solution of the Kashmir tangle and I salute its author Sir Owen Dixon for providing us the finest solution of this issue" Ghani said in an interview.

Prof. Ghani, a staunch supporter of accession of Kashmir to Pakistan also described the participation of Kashmiris in the event of bilateral talks between India and Pakistan on Kashmir as "irrelevant and unnecessary" if the dialongue was based on "principles"

This he, however, did not elaborate. According to 55 year old College teacher, turned politician, Kashmiri representative could not be involved in any effort to find a solution to the decades old dispute, when India and Pakistan so desired.

If the two parties wish to decide the issue mutually, there is no need of bringing in Kashmiris to the table. Ghani explained, adding that in case the two countries wanted to hear Kashmiri's viewpoint, All Parties Hurriet Conference was the genuine forum to represent people of all the three regions. Ghani favoured a division of Kashmir on the plea that if given a serious thought, this proposal could lead to an amicable and everlasting solution of the problem. However, he was of the view that in such a situation the aspirations of Kashmiri masses would have to be strictly taken care of, as otherwise this could prove to be a dangerous proposition, both in contents and consequences.

Expressing confidence in Pakistan's defence of Kashmir case. Ghani did not approve of Kashmiris pleading their case before different world for a saying, "In last 47 years, Pakistan has proved our brilliant and efficient counsel and in any bilateral dialogue with India, it could successfully argue on our behalf."

Ghani minced no words in denouncing the option of independent Kashmir. He said this ideology was irrelevant when seen in historical perspective of the issue, where the only option before the Kashmiris was to either accede to India or Pakistan, "The historical facts can't be ignored by one or two groups demanding independence." Ghani asserted, reiterating his Party's stand for merger of State with Pakistan.

He said the idea of an independent Kashmir has already been rejected by all concerned parties including India and Pakistan and claimed that Kashmiri's alone cannot be the sole party in the dispute.

However, Ghani, who also happens to be a Senior Executive Member of Hurriyat Conference, said that whatever he stated was the stand of the Muslim Conference which he belonged to. As far as Hurriyat was concerned, which is a combine of over three dozen political and religious parties, its constitution provided resolution of Kashmir in the light of UN resolutions with the idea that choice of independent Kashmir would be acceptable as an alternative in case all parties to the dispute agreed to this option; even if it was not liked by me."

(Daily *Muslim* Islamabad dated 3rd December 1995 as quoted by *Insaf* Rawalpindi, 15th January, 1997.)

There is no doubt that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was a typical opportunist. He did not revolt against India in 1953, in fact revolt was thrust on him. He himself writes that he could never imagine that his "friend, philolosopher and guide." Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru could go to such an extent against him. And all the time he was ready with an alternative solution of the issue of Kashmir. In the year 1968, he called a Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Convention in Srinagar and in that as many as 13 different solutions to the issue of Kashmir were suggested by different people. He himself did not show any perference for any particualr solution. All that he would tell Kashmiris was that he wanted a place of honour (*izzat ka maqaam*) for Kashmiris. What that meant in terms of accession, independence, division or whatever the shape, was never clarified by him. And untimately, he rejoined India on India's terms in 1974-75. That was the "place of honour" he wanted for himself in the community.

This opportunism of Abdullah was not unknown to the people of Kashmir and this is why they had formed other different parties for the freedom of Kashmir. A brief review of the parties will also be given but the basic position is that of the parties which are defying Indian hegemony and challenging India in Indian held Kashmir.

PATRIOTIC PARTIES IN OCCUPIED KASHMIR

The parties are:

1. **The Muslim Conference**, headed by Prof. Abdul Ghani Butt, which has the same aims and

objects as the Muslim Conference of Azad Kashmir with the difference that personally Mr. Butt prefers the Dixon Formula.

2. **The Awami Action Committee**, headed by Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, who inherited the party from his father Maulana Muhammad Farooq who was asasinated in 1990 at his residence by unknown assailants. This party stands for a plebiscite in Kashmir according to UN resolutions. Umar Farooq is one of the founders of the All Parties Hurriet Conference.

3. **The Jamat Islami** as in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, is a well-knit and organised party. Its miliant wing is the *Hizbul Mujahideen*. The part has been in existence since it was formed half a century ago but it shunned active politics for a number of years. Sayyed Ali Gilani, heads the APHC now.

4. **The Jammu and Kashmir Peoples League**. It is presently headed by Mahmud Ahmad Saghar. Its chief leader is Shabbir Ahmad Shah. One of the factions of this party is led by Muhammad Farooq Rahmani who is a tireless and well educated worker. He is the author of some good books on the genesis and the present position of the Kashmir struggle. It is difficult to appreciate where lies the difference between the two groups of the Kashmir struggle. Both the groups believe that armed struggle is the way out for Kashmiris to get rid of Indian domination. Leaders of both the groups are Islamic oriented, though they want the non-Muslims of Kashmir also to join the Muslims in the struggle of freedom. Shabbir Shah is called Nelson Mandela of Kashmir because he has spent a score of years in jail in Kashmir and India. One of the leaders of the People's League, S. Hameed, was recently martyred and his death was mourned by all Kashmiris irrespective of party affiliations.

5. **The Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Conference**, is led by Khwajah Abdul Ghani Lone, former Minister of

Occupied Kashmir. He is a very active person. Formerly, his party wanted internal autonomy for Kashmir in Indian, constitutional framework and change of nomenclature of Governor to *Sadr-i-Riyasat* and Chief Minister to *Wazeer-i-Azam* or Prime Minister. But now he is fully with the All Parties Hurriet Conference, a member of whose Working Committee or High Command he is. In eighties, he paid a visit to Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, after some years also visited some western countries.

6. **Ittehad-ul Muslimeen,** is headed by Maulana Abbas Ansari, an influential leader of the Shia community, widely respected by Sunnis also. It may be noted that because of the ordeal the Kashmiris have been undergoing for the last sixty or more years, the Muslims of Kashmir are united and solid like a rock. Indian attempts to divide the Muslims in the name of sects have failed miserably and the two sects celebrate the religious days jointly. Maulana Ansari also visited Pakistan some years ago and a reception ws given in his honour by the International Kashmir Committee, where, as General Secretary of the Committee, the present writer presented an address of welcome to Ansari Sahib.

7. Last but not least is the **Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front**, which is at present headed by Muhammad Yasin Malik. Previously, Mr. Amanullah Khan was the joint leader of the Liberation Front of Occupuied as well as Azad Kashmir, but differences arose between the two and they broke apart, though their ideals are the same. They want Kashmir to be independent, but since the **All Parties Hurriet Organisation** is an umbrella organisation of as many as more than two dozen parties of Jammu and Kashmir, the FLF is also one of its component parts. Yasin is a militant and in fact, he started his career as a mujahid. His other comrades, Ishfaq Wani and Sheikh Abdul Hamid are no more in this world: He is keen to protect the non-Muslim minorities of Indian held Kashmir and

believes the struggle for freedom in Kashmir is not only for the Muslims but for the entire population of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Azad (Free) as well as Maqbooza(Indian occupied).

The prototype of the present joint platform of the Kashmiri parties, APHC, was the Muslim United Front of Jammu and Kashmir, which was formed in 1986. It participated, for the first and last time, in the elections that were held in Indian held Kashmir on 23rd March, 1987. But the elections were rigged. Difference between previous alliances like Muslim United Front and the Tahreeki Hurriat Kashmir and the All Parties Hurriat Conference is that the APHC includes in its fold the Awami Action Committee of Mir Waiz Umar Farooq and the Liberation Front.

S. No.	Name of the Organisation
1.	J & K Awami Action Committee
2.	Jamat-i-Islami (J&K)
3.	J & K Liberation Front.
4.	J & K Peoples League.
5.	J & K Peoples Conference
6.	J & K Ittehad-ul Muslimeen
7.	J & K Muslim Conference
8.	J & K Liberation Council
9.	J & K Muslim League
10.	J & K Mahaz-i-Azadi
11.	J & K Political Conference
12.	Students Association
13.	Muslim Khawateen Markaz
14.	Jamiat Ahle Hadees (J&K)
15.	Bazm-i-Tauheed Ahl-i-Hadees (J&K)
16.	Anjuman-e Tabligh-ul Islam
17.	Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam Kashmir
18.	Jamiat-i-Hamadania (J&K)

19. Anjuman-i-Auqaf-e-Jamia Masjid
20. J&K Muslim Auqaf Trust
21. Umat-i-Islami (J&K)
22. Employees and Workers Confederation (Ishtiaq Group)
23. Employees & Workers Confederation (Ansari Group)
24. Islamic Study Group
25. Islamic Students Legue
26. Anjuman-e Sharae-e Shiaan (J&K)
27. Basic Human Rights (Justice M. Bahauddin Group)
28. Human Rights Organisation (G.N. Hagroo) Advocate
29. Shaheed-i-Millat Youth Forum
30. Kashmir Bar Association
31. Mahaz-i-Islami (J&K) (Acceptance yet to receive)
32. Dukhtaran-i-Millat (J&K) (Acceptance yet to receive)
33. Peoples Political Front (Acceptance yet to receive)
34. Khilafat-i-Islamia (J&K) (Acceptance yet to receive)[106]

Out of these nearly three dozen organizations, seven, which have been mentioned earler, have been elevated to be the members of the High Command or the Working Committee of the APHC. On various occasions, some of the other components groups, enumerated in the above list, have been demanding the reconstitution of the Working Committee, but that has not been done. It is said that only those organisations which have influence on a considerable number of mujahideen, qualify for the membership of the Working Committee, but there is nothing about that in the written and published Constitution of the Alliance.

As regards the name and the composition of the APHC, the Constituions says:

Chapter I

(i) The All Parties Hurriet (Freedom) Conference shall be a Union of political, social and religious organisations of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with its Head office at Srinagar.

ii) The Conference shall comprise:-
  a). the organisation as specified in the schedule and;
  b). such other organisations as may be admitted into the Conference hereafter.

Chapter II - Objectives of the All Parties Hurriet (Freedom) Conference:

Two objectives of the All Parties Hurriet Conference (which) has been formed shall be as follows:-

i). To make peaceful struggle to secure for the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir the exercise of the right of self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter and the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council. However, the exercise of the right of self-determination shall also include the right to independence.

ii). To make endeavours for an alternative negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute amongst all the three parties to the dispute, *viz* (a) INDIA, (b) PAKISTAN, (c) PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR, under the auspices of the UN or any other friendly countries, provided that such settlement reflects the will and the aspirations of the people of the State.

iii). To project the ongoing struggle in the State, before the Nations and the Governments of the world in its proper perspective, as being a struggle directed against the forcible and fraudulent occupation of the State by India and for the achievement of the right of self determination of its people.

iv). To make endeavours, in keeping with the Muslim majority character of the State, for promoting the building up of a society based on Islamic values; while safeguarding of the rights and interests of the non-Muslims.

v). To make endeavours for the achievement of any objectives which may be ancilliary or incidental to the obectives specified above.[107]

Explanation

For the removal of doubts, it is hereby declared that in this Article, negotiated settlement shall not be deemed to include any settlement within the framework within the Constitution of India.

The APHC is very active inside Kashmir, inside India and in the world. It has built an organisational structure at the grassroot level and has been actively projecting the cause of Kashmir in India also, where its leaders have been addressing press conferences and seminars in Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and other places. Last year, they held protest demonstations in front of the UN Office in Delhi against the brutal and inhuman actions against the womenfolk and children of Kashmir. Female relations of the martyrs attended the demonstrations in large numbers. The Hurriet leaders have been attending international conferences on Kashmir in various parts of the world, whenever, it has been possible for them to reach those venues. Thus, they attended the OIC moots in various countries. The OIC has given observers status to the All Parties Hurriet Conference. International dignitaries who visit Kashmir, make it a point to meet the leaders of the All Parties Hurriet Conference and know their views about the future of Kashmir and the possible solution to this thorny issue. An Information Bureau of the APHC is in New Delhi also.

Indian rulers, true to their traditions, have put stumbling blocks in the path of the Hurriet leaders and seldom allow them to come out of the country so that they could represent the true wishes and sentiments of their people before the world. Recently, when two Hurriet leaders, Mirwaiz and Ansari had also received their boarding cards for their trip of the Iranian capital where the OIC Summit was being held, they were told on the eleventh hour that they cannot go out of the country. When elections were held in 1996 in Kashmir, the APHC appealed for a boycott which was extremely successful and the recent boycott, in February-March 1998, was also tremendous success and it was noted by impartial foreign observers that the polling in the Lok Sabha elections in Kashmir was very poor and negligible and whatever, votes were cast, were cast by the security forces and other officials of India, including the polling staff. It was once again proved by the people of Kashmir that Kashmir is NOT a part of Bharat.

Leadership of the APHC is collective. There is no personality cult of any kind, which has in the past damaged the interests of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

A lot of literature has been issued by the All Parties Hurriet Conference and its associate organisations, individually and collectively, about the present struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Both groups of the Peoples League, the Jamaat-i-Islami and the Liberation Front have issued considerable literature regarding the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, which throws light on the various aspects of the Kashmir struggle. The Kashmir Bar Association has collected and published extensive reports about the violation of human rights by the Indian security Forces in Kashmir, which has been widely circulated by Dr. Ghulam Nabi

Fai, Executive Director of the Kashmir American Council.

In keeping with its constitutional provisions, the APHC has time and again invited the non-Muslims of the State to contribute their mite in the liberation of Kashmir. Just two years ago, a number of non-Muslim notables of Jammu province joined the ranks of the Hurriet and were accommodated in the organisation, thus, contradicting the damaging propaganda of the enemies of the Kashmiris that the Kashmir movement was a fundamentalist organisation, fighting against the Hindus of the State. From time to time, human rights and civil liberties leaders from all over India visit Kashmir and meet the leaders of the APHC and also the common people, the pressmen and also the officials in Kashmir. On way back to India, they issue statements and hold press conferences, in which they testify that there is nothing like communalism in the rank and files of the APHC.

APHC always regretted that the non-Muslim Pandits of Kashmir had to migrate to Jammu and Delhi at the instigation of the Governor of Jammu, and they are passing now their days and nights in misery, away from their homes. The APHC have always said that the Pandits are welcome back home and have very right to live in the land of their ancestors as peaceful citizens. The migration of the Pandits was arranged by the bigoted Hindu Governor Jagmohan Malhotra, who is Jana Sanghi and a born enemy of the Muslims.

The People's League, it may be pointed out, is of course out of the APHC, but its leaders have left no stoned unturned to support the freedom struggle and in no case have lagged behind the APHC in the struggle against the Indian domination of the State.

APHC has well-knit unit in Azad Kashmir known as AK Chapter of APHC, which works for the same ideals as the central Bureau in Srinagar. It maintains close contact with friendly organisations like the World Kashmir Freedom Movement in London, the Kashmiri American Council, the Kashmir Council in Canada, the Council for Human Rights in London and other similar oranisations in other parts of the globe.

OPERATION GIBRALTER AND THE WAR OF 1965

It is generally believed that Pakistan had a golden chance of taking armed action to liberate Kashmir when there was a border war between China and India. That China had occupied some parts of Laddakh in the Aksai Chin sector was known to India in October 1959. Pandit Nehru's first reaction to it was something non-serious. He told the Lok Sabha that it was a desolate mountainous area "where not a blade of grass grows". Anyhow, he was constrained to say in October 1962, that action would be taken to throw out the Chinese forces from the disputed territory in the North. Many Kashmiris also thought that this was the time to act because, "your enemy's enemy is your friend". What is more, Pakistan had best of relations with China. Had Pakistan acted at that time, and sent some units troops to Kashmir, the issue would have been solved for good. But the decision could be taken only by Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan and he thought it better not to act. His opponents like Bhutto accused him of inaction and even cowardice. When the "chance" was over, Mr. K. H. Khurshid, then President of Azad Kashmir, met Ayub Khan along with the 12 members of the AJK State Council and wanted to know why Pakistan did not get hold of the golden chance and liberate Kashmir while India was preoccupied with China. Ayub Khan said that had Pakistan acted, it would have brought Indo-China rapproachment closer and we would have been caught half-way and thus, it was a risk not worth being taken.

At this time, America persuaded the Prime

Minister of India and the President of Pakistan to undertake talks to solve the issue of Kashmir by talks. A joint statement was issued by the two Governments. High hopes were raised in both countries, especially in Kashmir and Pakistan, that the issue would be solved by talks. This led to the Bhutto Swaran Singh meetings which took place from 27th December, 1962 in Rawalpindi to 16th May, 1963, in New Delhi. During the six rounds of talks, Pakistan and India explained their positions on Kashmir to each other. There were reports that some alternate propositions and options were also considered, but the talks were a complete failure. India had only been gaining time and since the Chinese threat to her borders was over, she reiterated her old theory of Kashmir being the inseparable part of India. Kashmiris, the main party to the dispute, were nowhere in the picture. They could only wish that the talks were a success, but their prayers were not heard.

We have already discussed the arrival of Sheikh Abdullah in Pakistan. After that, he went for Hajj and then to Cairo and Algeria, where he met the Chinese Prime Minister Chou en Lai. The latter invited Abdullah to China and told him that if he came, a parallel government for Kashmir would be set up under his leadership, and an armed struggle could be launched for the liberation of Kashmir. The news of this meeting was flashed in the world media and India was extremely offended. Abdullah, who wrote his autobiography when he had struck a bargain with India and has assumed power again in Kashmir, has underplayed the meeting with the Chinese Premier in *Aatish-i-Chinar*, saying that it was just a courtesy call and had been overplayed by the Press. But the Indians, highly offended, recalled him, his wife and Afzal Beg to India. Abdullah was sent to Kodai Kanal, Tamil Nadu and detained there. Afzal Beg was detained in New Delhi and Abdullah's Begum was sent to Srinagar and restricted to her home.

It is said that while Abdullah was in Pakistan for the visit which was cut short by Nehru's death, he had suggested that some Kashmiri youths be given military training in the "base-camp" (Azad Kashmir) but his suggestion was not taken seriously. But then it was thought fit that armed volunteers be sent to Kashmir to start the war of Liberation.

I, for one came to know only when I read the book *My Version* written by General Musa, who was the army chief in 1965, that the operation of 1965 was called Operation Gibralter. Musa's book published in 1983 is something straight from the horse's mouth, Another valuable book on the subject is in Urdu, written by Brigadier(R) Farooq, under the pseudonym of "Alamgir". Farooq, as a captain went through the mill of the operation and is the best narrative on the subject. This one was published first in 1990. There are other books and articles also, but these two books throw a flood of light on the subject.

Musa says that when "the unrest among the people of Occupied Valley, caused by the theft of the holy relic in Hazratbal in 1963, too petered out in sheer frustration, the Government asked the Intelligence Bureau to keep the flickering flame alive by throwing occasional crackers in Occupied Kashmir. They carried some minor sabotage activities there but these attempts also proved futile." (page 2, *My Version*). Musa says that then Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg were detained and India continued her oppressive behaviour towards the Muslim population.[108]

General Musa adds. "The then Foreign Minister Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmad spurred by Major General Akhtar Husein Malik, who was commander of our troops in Azad Kashmir pressed the Government to take advantage of the disturbed situation in the Valley and direct the Army to send raiders into Indian-held Kashmir for conducting guerilla activities there to help, on a long term basis the locals in organising a movement with a view to eventually starting an uprising against the occupying power."

General Musa then says that while he agreed with the proposal that something be done to defreeze the issue of Kashmir, he pointed out that adequate preparations had not been made for guerilla activity and "We did not have even half of what India had in military strength, which was the minimum requirement to defend Pakistan in a full-scale war successfully and press on with our commitments in Kashmir simultaneously, taking into account the great likelihood of getting more deeply involved in Kashmir . . . Moreover, our forces were dependent on foreign sources of supply of war materials, whereas India's were sustained, very largely by a highly indigenous industry (page 3). The GHQ recommended that the raids be postponed so that time, thus, gained could be utilised for making proper arrangements for guerilla activities in Kashmir and building up our capacity for an open war (page 3-4).

General Musa also writes that the Kashmiris of Occupied, or Azad Kashmir were not also consulted, which is so necessary for the help and existence of the guerillas.

When the proposal of sending guerillas to Kashmir was first received by GHQ, two years earlier, the Army Chief had suggested its being held in abeyance, and the President (Ayub Khan) had agreed with the GHQ. But now, Ayub had agreed to it when his Foreign Minister assured him that somebody from America had assured him that the fighting would remain confined to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and would not escalate to Pakistan and India. This proved to be a misconception, and a wishful thinking of the young Foreign Minister who was keen to start the action in Kashmir.

Judged from the books of General Musa and Brigadier Farooq, the operation was a misadventure and a jump into the darkness. Would you believe that a force of 660 (Six hundred and sixty) only had been sent to operate in the heart of the Valley of Kashmir, says Justice M.Y. Saraf on page 1148 of *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom* (Volume II). What a mighty force to liberate Kashmir from India!

India made secret of its intentions. Shahstri, the Indian Prime Minister, kept on warning us through press and platform, that if the action in Occupied Kashmir was not stopped, India would choose her own battlefield and the trouble would not remain confined to Kashmir. But we continued to believe the baseless guess that the fighting would not escalate, till the time when the Indians violated the international border of Pakistan and attacked Lahore.

Yes, the dastardly attack was given telling answer by the valiant forces of Pakistan. Fighting took place on various fronts and ultimately a Cease Fire was proclaimed, followed by the Tashkent Declaration of 10th January 1966, in which the only reference to Kashmir was that both countries had stated their point of view about Kashmir.

As facts stand, the people of the Occupied Kashmir Valley were not involved in that action. But still, the people of Kashmir welcomed the mujahideen, and gave them every possible help and protection. This has been stated by Col. Mansha Khan, who was commanding the force of 660 in the Valley. In his report, quoted also by M.Y. Sarraf in his book, Mansha has said that the mujahideen could not have come back alive if the people of Kashmir, men, women and children, had not protected them and extended to them every kind of help and cooperation.

There is lot of evidence to show that the action called Operation Gibralter was politically motivated. Nawabzada General Sher Ali Khan, Minister of Information in the Yahya regime, once told a deputation of Kashmiri leaders that the operation was a ploy to weaken Ayub Khan and throw him out of power.

The war of 1965 did prove the Pakistan Army was invincible and capable of defending the frontiers of the country, but it did not help in the solution of the issue of Kashmir. While the Soviet Premier Kosygin told both sides, India and Pakistan.

"No one else can solve these problems for you. You have to find a solution yourself". And this is excatly what the Security Council also told the two contries, that they must resolve the differences on Kashmir by mutual talks. Indira Gandhi, Indian Prime Minister, who succeeded Shastri after his death in Tashkent, said in a public speach in New York on 31st March, 1966.

"It is now too late to talk of plebiscite. The second invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan last autumn has destroyed, whatever, marginal or academic value the old UN Resolutions might have had. Kashmir is also vital to the defence of India in Laddakh against China. Any plebiscite today would by definition amount to questioning the integrity of India."

When the mujahideen withdrew from the Valley of Kashmir and Azad Kashmir troops came out of the areas of Rajouri etc., the Indian army's axe fell on the poor people of those areas. Undescribable atrocities were perpetrated on the Muslim population of these areas. Anybody suspected of having sided with the mujahideen or the Pakistan army was made the target of Indian tyranny and torture. The name Gibralter meant that those who had gone to liberate Kashmir, had burnt their boats and they would never return from Kashmir. But what actualy happend is a gruesome and agonising tale of woe.

Abdullah and his men continued to remain in detention and in the meantime, Indian rulers, assisted by their henchmen like G.M. Sadiq in Kashmir, embarked upon a plan to further integrate the State of

Jammu and Kashmir with India. The Constitution of Kashmir was amended and the elected *Sadr-i-Riyasat* (State President) was replaced by a Governor, who was to be a non-Kashmiri and Indian Hindu. Likewise, the nomenclature of Wazir-i-Azam or Prime Minsiter was changed to Chief Minister. The State of Jammu and Kashmir came under the purview of the Indian Election Commission. Previously, Kashmir had its own Election Commission. What is more, the jurisdiction of the Indian Supreme Court was also extended to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Then the Congress-I set up its branch in Indian held Kashmir. All this was done after the War of 1965, which was the sequel to the Operation Gibralter.

Inside India, there were somewhat liberal leaders like Jai Prakash Narayan. This man, who was considered as second Gandhi by the Indian in his last days, was keen that the issue of Kashmir should be settled by mutual talks between India and Pakistan on the basis of equality and impartiality. Even Jai Prakash Narayan turned against Pakistan and said that Pakistan was no more a party to the Kashmir dispute. No doubt, this was a lame excuse. Outsiders could no more exercise any pressure on India with respect to Kashmir. Abdullah and party, therefore, started talks with the Indian leaders, their old masters and the talks culminated in the agreement between Indira Gandhi's nominee Parthsarthy Ayyengar and Abdullah's deputy Mirza Afzal Beg, in what is known as Delhi Agreement, in which Abdullah, after twenty two years of fighting, again accepted that Kashmir had become a part and parcel of the Indian Union. He was also led to believe that the Simla Agreement had done away with the UN Security Council resolutions and that the demand of plebiscite and self-determination of Kashmir had been buried in the hills of Simla. These were the after effects of the civil war in East Pakistan and India's naked aggression on one of the wings of Quaid-i-Azam's Pakistan.

The surrender of the Pakistan Army to Indian forces in Dhaka in December 1971, was a great shock to the people of Kashmir. Even, if the Pakistani cricket team is beaten by any other team in the world, especially by the Indian conterpart, it is sad and a bad day for the people of Kashmir. And if Pakistani team wins, it is a day of rejoicing for the people of Kashmir. In early eighties, there was a cricket match between the team of West Indies and India in Srinagar. First, the leaders of Kashmir, especially Sayyed Ali Gilani, had warned the authorities that holding of an international match on the internationally disputed soil of Kashmir was improper. But this warning was ignored and the match did take palce. The Kashmiri audience could not suppress their happiness and merriment when the Indians seemed to lose the match. The Indian players were hooted, throughout the match and the West Indies players were bucked up. It was a field day for the Kashmiri youth. In the evening the West Indies team told pressmen and said that it seemed to them that they were being bucked up by their own people and they were as if not in Kashmir but in their own homeland.

And when Dhaka fell. It was a day of mourning for the Kashmiri people. About five persons were reported to have died of heart attack and many Kashmiris did not cook and eat their meals on that day. There was gloom all over the Valley of Kashmir.

Kashmiris want Pakistan to be strong enough and an ideal Muslim State because they are conscious of the fact that only a strong Pakistan can help in the realisation of the dream of the freedom and liberation of Kashmir. They are also conscious of the fact that it was Allama Iqbal, a Kashmiri, who conceived the idea of a separate homeland of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Kashmiris observe Ramazan fasts when it is announced by Pakistan Radio and TV that the Ramazan moon has been sighted and observe their Eid when the Electronic media of Pakistan announces that the Eid is to be celebrated.

Such is the extent of the love of the people of Kashmir for Pakistan. This is why when there is some harm to Pakistan the Kashmiris feel aggrieved and Pakistan's strength and prosperity makes them happy.[109]

ANOTHER SALE OF KASHMIR

The first sale of Kashmir took place in 1846, on 16th March, without the knowedge and without the approval of the people of Kashmir. The seller was the victorious British East India Company, which had defeated the Sikhs at Sabhraon, and got Kashmir from them as indemnity according to the Treaty of Lahore, dated 11th March, 1846. The buyer was Dogra Gulab Singh of Jammu, who was inwardly in league with the victrious British and had sabotaged the war effort of the Sikh regime in order to help his British Masters.

As we have already seen, Kashmiris came to know of it after a month because the deal was struck and the deed was signed in Amritsar, and in those days there was no telephone, no wirelss and no telegraph in Kashmir or Punjab, and no newspaper which could help in dissemination of the news about Kashmir. Kashmiris came to know about it only when the Dogra Raja reached Srinagar to get possession of the paradise on earth.

The second sale was that of 1947, by Maharaja Hari Singh with the help of Sheikh Abdullah, who secured his release from jail made possible by the "Mahatma" from Gujarat, West India, who assured the Maharaja that a Muslim could be set against the other Muslims if his own interests were included. Sheikh Abdullah was also instrumental in the second sale of Kashmir to India for position and power for himself.

And the third sale was the agreement of Abdullah to accept power again, on India's terms and on the condition that he would wind up the Plebiscite Front, abandon the demand of self-determination for good and renew his old slogan that he would live like an Indian and die like an Indian. It is pertinent to note that when the Congress-I was formed in Kashmir in the mid-sixties, Abdullah issued a religious decree against it and said that not even the funeral prayers of the Congressite Muslims were permissible. But, when he struck the bargain with Indira Gandhi he was elected leader of the House, the Occupied Kashmir State Assembly by the Congress-I group because his own party had only one member in the person of Mubarak Shah of Baramula in a house of 75 members. Thus, abdullah swallowed what he had vomited only twenty years ago and became the Chief Miniser while he had been dismissed as the Prime Minister. He did entreat Indira to let him become Prime Minister because he had been dismissed as Prime Minister in August 1953, but she told him clearly "India and Kashmir are one country and there can be only one prime minister in one country and that is myself. He was told by her that much water had flown down the rivers of Kashmir since he was Prime Minister and that he should forget that now. And Abdullah did forget that. So when Abdullah succumbed before India once again, India and Indira started rejoicing that Pakistan had no more support in Kashmir and the "real representatives" of Kashmir had again thrown their lot with Bharat.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW PHASE OF KASHMIR STRUGGLE

The Pakistan Prime Minister urged the people of Kashmir to undertake strike on 25th February, 1975 against the Delhi Accord and prove it to India and to the world that the issue of self-determination of Kashmir was still very much there and Abdullah's reunion with India had no significance for the people of Kashmir. Some doubting Thomases in Pakistan said that the *hartal* in Kashmir would be a failure and Indians would get a chance to say that the Kashmir movement had completely disappeared. When the strike took place, the Prime Minister of Pakistan addressed a press conference in the PM auditorium in Rawalpindi and the writer of these pages asked him if he was satisfied with the performance of the Kashmiris in response to his appeal for a strike, "I am more than satisfied" said the Prime Minister and remarked that the purpose had been achieved and the world and also India was aware of the fact that the Kashmir question was still very much there.

This strike was held nearly three years after the conclusion of the Simla Agreement. There is no doubt that this Agreement was signed by Pakistan and India when the former was a vanquished nation and India had the upper hand over Pakistan because there were nearly ninety thousand of Pakistani troops in India as hostages. Then there was five thousand square miles territory in the possession of India. But the Simla Agreement in no way puts an end to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The points that deserve consideration in this respect are as follows:

Firstly, the Simla Agreement starts with the proposition that the relations between Pakistan and India will be according to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Now, the article 103 of the United Nations is very much clear on the point. It says:

"In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail".[110]

Nothing could be more transparent and vivid than this. Simla Agreement is between the India and Pakistan but the UN resolutions are agreements according to the UN Charter. The UN Resolutions on Kashmir cannot be surpassed by the Simla Agreement. The factual position is the other way round.

Secondly, it has been enunciated in the Simla Agreement that Cease Fire Line in Kashmir is renamed Line of Actual Control without any prejudice to the respective and recognised positions of the two countries on Kashmir. India's position on Kashmir is that she considers the whole State as part of India and Pakistan's stand is that the entire State is disputed. Both claims are intact.

The Simla Agreement says that high-level talks will be held between the two countries for the *Final Disposal* of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This means that the final disposal is yet to take place. The proposition is for the entire State and not only about Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas, as Salman Haider the ex-Secretary Foreign Affairs would want us to believe when he backed out of the Islamabad joint communique issued last year, when India agreed to formation of a Kashmir Group, but on reaching New Delhi, Salman Haider said that by Kashmir India meant only Azad Kashmir and Gilgit. The point is that no substantial change has been made by the Simla Agreement in the disputed nature of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Both Sheikh Abdullah and his mentors in New Delhi had hoped that his rejoining the pro-India camp would eradicate the last vestiges of the freedom struggle of Jammu and Kashmir in the occupied part of the State. But that did not happen. We have noted that a number of other organisations had sprung up in the occupied State and they were valiantly fighting for the freedom of Kashmir. They were, however, eclipsed as long as Abdullah was against India, but when he crossed the line and rejoined the Hindu camp, the other organisations became more active and prominent.

Firstly, let us take the Plebiscite Front, which had been formed by Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg. Abdullah's son-in-law, G.M. Shah was its general secretary and as the name of the Front indicated, it stood for a free and impartial plebiscite in the State under auspices of the United Nations. When Abdullah rejoined the Indian camp, it was thought fit that the Plebiscite Front should be converted into the National Conference, the party which had been hijacked by Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad when the Abdullah regime was dismissed from prime ministership by India on 8th August, 1953. In July 1975, a special session of the Plebiscite Front was held in Srinagar. But a number of the leaders and workers, led by Soofi Muhammad Akbar, former member of the Indian Parliament, who was now the Vice President of the Plebiscite Front, refused to convert the Front into National Conference. The workers told Abdullah. "How can we convert the Front into National Conference? We have given the slogan of plebiscite and self-determination to the Kashmiris for the last twenty two years, how can we say now that accession to India is final."? Due to this frankness of the dissenters, the idea to convert the Plebiscite Front into

National Conference was dropped and Abdullah and his friends formed a new National Conference as a pro-India body, Soofi Akbar and others formed a Mahaz-i-Azadi or Liberation Front with the ideal of independence of the State. This Mahaz, as we have seen, is a component party of the All Parties Hurriet Conference. Its present patron is Muhammad Azam Inquilabi, who is a fire-brand and a good writer but whose only weakness is that he is never constant and does not stick to one thing.

The parties which were already in the field and who had been challenging the accession of Kashmir to India, started grouping together and then formed first the Muslim Mutahhida Mahaz (MUF) and then the Tahreek-i-Hurriet-i-Kashmir. Their present joint Front is the All Parties Hurriet which is successfully steering the ship of the freedom struggle in Kashmir and outside.

Thus, agreements of individual leaders with India accenting the accession of Kashmir to India as a settled fact, have been rejected by the people of Kashmir. Supporting India means digging the grace of your reputation in Kashmir. That is what happened to Abdullah. When he died in September 1982, of course he got an exceptional burial. But that was partly for his past services which he rendered to Kashmir when he had not been ensnared by the Hindu Congress. What is more, his son was the Chief Minister of Kashmir and the burial etc., was a state managed show. In due course of time, the false popularity started vanishing like a dream and the present position is that his grave in the vicinity of Hazratbal is guarded by the Hindu army. Nobody attends his grave now for saying *fatiha*. The authorities and relations of Abdullah are afraid that the revolting and the unruly youth of Kashmir may dig out the dead body of Abdullah from the grave and drag it in the streets of Srinagar as a punishment for his having sold the Kashmiris, twice..During the days of King Harsha in the eleventh century of the Christian Era, when Islam had not entered Kashmir, the Kashmiris, disillusioned with the wooden and stone-made gods in the temples, dragged them in the streets of Srinagar and broke them to pieces. That is to say, the Kashmiris, before becoming Muslims, had revolted against the false gods, about whom they were convinced that they were useless, not doing any harm or benefit to the people.

The Kashmiris who are more than convinced now that Sheikh Abdullah is responsible for their present fate and the vicissitudes which befell them during the past fifty one years are the result of Abdullah's prostration before Bharat, want to meet out the same treatment to Sheikh Abdullah's corpse which was meted out to false gods of stone and wood during the days of King Harsha.

As days pass by, India becomes more and more unpopular in Kashmir. The only thing that remains of India in Kashmir is the Indian army. When Farooq Abdullah ceased to be the Chief Minister of Kashmir in 1990, he ran away not to India but to London. It was only the chief ministership which brought him back. His chief ministership is costing India, too much. He has been given two helicopters and even 2 or 3 kilometers distance is covered by him in the helicopter. About one thousand soldiers, guards and commandos are detained for his security. His very costly car is fitted with jammers worth crores of rupees so that it may not be blown up by landmines. He could not address a single public meeting during the recent farcical elections of 1996. Collecting policemen and security men in plain clothes and addressing them as if they are the people of Kashmir is quite another thing.

So this is the position of India and her agents in Kashmir. Six hundred thousand troops are working day and night to prove to the world that Kashmir is a part of Baharat but they have failed in doing so and they are sure to fail in future also. No amount of Indian repression can change the disputed nature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

INDIAN REPORTS ON MURDER OF KASHMIRIS AND THEIR RIGHTS

Human beings are, after all human beings. In every nation and every country of the world, there are quite a number of people who speak the truth and have great consideration for human values. It is a fact that for the first time, during the past ten years, the iron curtain over the gruesome and murderous happenings in Indian held Kashmir at the hands of the security forces was taken off by Indian human rights and civil liberties activists, both men and women and some very honest non-Muslim journalists.

Why is Kashmir Burning?

This was the question which was sought to be answered by a delegation of the Indian Peoples Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) which included a retired Justice of the Bombay High Court V.M. Tarkunde, Rajindghar Sachhar, Amrik Singh, Balraj Puri and Inder Mohan. Their report, which appeared in some of the Indian papers, was lifted by Pakistani newspapers also. Thus, it was through the eyes of Indian human rights activists that the real position of Occupied Kashmir came to light. Some of the highlights of the report are:

Mr. N.D. Pancholi, who had on his own initiative met some individuals in the Valley, could find no trace of communal antagonism between Muslims and Hindus. A Hindu businessman from India was staying in the same hotel in Srinagar where Mr. Pancholi was and the Hindu businessman told him that he could not realise the due amounts from local businessmen because of constant curfew. He said there was nothing like a communal problem in the Valley. Similarly, several other non-Muslim businessmen who met Mr. Pancholi, told him that there was no cummunal animosity among the Muslims. The militants chose to kill their enemies and spies irrespective of community. (In fact, more Muslims had been killed than Hindus). Rajindar Singh, a taxi-driver from Jammu said that Kashmiri Muslims were friendly and posed no danger to him or to any other members of his community anywhere. At Khanqah-i-Mualla, team members met a number of Hindu representatives who said that Hindus were living with their Muslim neighbours and there was no communal hostility. We saw a beautiful temple which had the following words written on its inner gate in Hindi:

Namah Shivaih Shaktiman Nmami Ram
Sarvah Loknath Jagannath Dhahbadi Ki Bhanint

The temple priest Shri Mantu Das told us that all Hindus in the locality were receiving full cooperation from the local Muslims. Although, our hotel proprietor was a Muslim he had employed a twenty two years old Gautama, a Hindu, who hailed from Darjeeling.

On the other hand, see what the Security forces of the country whose founding father Gandhi was a preacher and teacher of *ahimsa* or non-violence did. On March 31, 1990, a group of children in the age group of 11—12 assembled at the house of a teacher to take tuition from him in Vicharnag locality of Srinagar. The teacher was a non-Muslim and all students except one were non-Muslims. There was an incident in the vicinity and the CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force) men burst into the house. The CRPF men asked the identity of the disciples with their names. Only the Muslim boy was shot dead. "Instances regarding the molestation of women in Chhanpura were brought to the notice of the team members, Mr.Balraj Puri and Indermohan, who were taken to the house where two young girls were said to have been raped by the security forces. This was confirmed by the victimised girls themselves. The team members met the neighbours who were showing full respect and consideration to the girls." For three and a half months now there has been constant curfew in

Srinagar, except for a break of a few days.

Mr. Jagmohan, the Governor, in his press conference on April 2, is reported to have said that the present continuous curfew is imposed in order to provide safety to the people from the militants. Nothing can be farther from truth. Rightly or wrongly, the militants have become the heroes of the Kashmiri people. The curfew is imposed to stop the people from coming together for organising peaceful processions demonstrations and also to tame them by reducing them to starvation level. The people resent the curfew bitterly and look upon it as a method of keeping them under virtual house-arrest.[111]

Report of Four Bold Indian Women

The women who belonged to the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir, a Human Rights association based in New Delhi. The women are Premila Lawis, Nandita Haksar, Sakina Hasan and Suhasine Mulay. As the names show only one of them is a Muslim, other three are non-Muslims. For want of space we cannot quote the whole report, some excerpts would do.

"The Indian state seems to be totally oblivious of the logic of militarisation and its consequences. The Valley is virtually under the army and the civil administration is turned to be helpless in checking the lawlessness of the security forces which have resulted in untold human sufferings and growing alienation of the people there. This has had serious repercussions on the officers of the Jammu and Kashmir Government who soon after the killings of May 21 (when mourners carrying the body of Maulvi Farooq were shot down) came out with the statement that the incident "brought shame to Indian democracy and left a scar on the psyche of Kashmir". They were joined by the senior officers of the Indian Administrative service of the JK cadres, both Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris who in a letter addressed to the government complained that despite "frantic wireless messages from officers of the State police asking for instructions to be conveyed to the CRPF to desist from firing on the procession" they were not heeded. "Our investigation shows that the Security Forces in Kashmir have been given vast powers under notification which has been kept secret. Enormous sums are being diverted for the militarisation of the Kashmir Valley. The State government which is bankrupt, has an annual budget for Rs. 12 crores exclusively for purposes of providing temporary accommodation for the Security Forces.[112]

"A survey of about 20 daily newspapers in English, Urdu and Hindi revealed that the papers reported incidents in which 118 people had been killed in April 1990 and in May the figure was 200 plus numbers of the persons killed during the Mirwaiz funeral when the security forces fired on an unarmed funeral procession. The JK Police said that the number of the dead was 27. JK Government admits 47 and unofficial sources state that nearly 70 died.

On 16th May, 1990 Mufti M. Sayeed, Home Minister of the VP Singh regime, told the Praja Sabha that 106 officers in Jammu and Kashmir had been sacked for being sympathetic to the cause of the separatist movement. When Mr. N. Salaria, M.P., asked whether any explanation from the officers was called before dismissing them, the Home Minister said that there was no question of seeking any explanation when people had been found crossing the border to get training in subversive activities.

This had a very serious repercussion on the other officers of Jammu and Kashmir. 137 officers signed a joint appeal to the citizens of the world and said that the incident of killing mourners of Maulvi Farooq had brought shame to Indian democracy". The officers also condemned the killings in other places and said that paramilitary forces have taken a collective toll of many people. The government sought explanation from the signatories and the action proved counter productive, more and more officers signed the joint statement and the list of signatories grew from 137 to 1000 and later on it stood at 10,000.

"The women lawyers told us about the treatment meted out to women. They said the women were threatened, humiliated and sexually abused". Women BSF want us to say Jai Mata ki (Vitory be to Kali Mata, the black goddes of death and destruction in Hindu mythology) and threatened to take the girls to Delhi and make them prostitutes or take them to mandirs (Hindu temples) and put *tilak* on their foreheads. Is this secularism? They said to us: Ma'am we want only one thing now. We want freedom. We cannot bear this any longer. If we cannot be free we would rather die than suffer this oppression. Even the Nazis could not have done what is being done to us. Others said that the framework of the Constitution is not acceptable to us. We do not believe in this Constitution. We have been cheated by it.

"The Doctors at various hospitals in the Valley were being victimised for having treated the injured militants in view of their medical ethics, the doctors said that they treated every injured person. They did not concern themselves with the private non-medical aspects of their patients. They were bound by the Hippocrates oath. The doctors were constantly harassed by the security forces. They went back on indefinite strike on May 26."[113]

"Panzgaam is a village of about 5,000 people in Pulwama district, On May 28, 1990 some children chalked the words JKLF (Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front) on the wall of two shops. The army took out a flag march through the village and on the way they beat up any one they came across several lemen were seriously injured and their legs were deliberately broken. They had to remain in hospital for more than a month.

Kashmir Under Siege

This is yet another report from Indian Human Rights activists. It is authored by the East Punjab Human Rights Organisation, and is spread over sixty pages of foolscap size. A team of this organisation, comprising Justice(r) A.S. Baine (Chairman) Major General(r) Narinder Singh. Dr. Sukhjit Kaur Gill (Vice-chairman) and Balwant Singh advocate (Secretary). This team visited the Valley and it is not possible to reproduce even main points of this report. Juist to quote a few:

"The entire Muslim population is for liberation from India. Sikhs and Kashmiri Pandits who are still in the Valley, do not oppose independence. We heard anti-India slogans from the mosques even during the curfew hours."

"Dinesh Kumar, son of Madan Lal, a shopkeeper. told the team that there was no tension between communities and it was the government policy to shift Hindus to create a law and order situation in Kashmir." After Sopore the team visited Handwara and met the President of the Bar Association, Handwara, who stated "On January 25, a peaceful procession of 70,000 people from various villages came to Handwara."

"Rehmati, wife of Abdul Ghani Dar, aged 30 years. On the day of the incident, the army men came and asked her to accompany them in the search. They made her pull up her *pheran* (cloak) and put a rifle on her breasts and began to beat her. She was four months pregnant. They search the house and threw the household goods outside."

"Mughlee. widow of Ghulam Muhammad Dar, said she has four sons and one daughter. The elder sons were in the fields at that time and the younger two were at home with her daughter who is one year old. Six armed men came to search the house. She was caught by the neck and pulled inside the house. She resisted and began shouting, the elder son who is 14 tried to intervene. He was beaten and tied to a tree. The army then proceeded to search the house and threw the household goods outside. She ran away."

"Shamima, wife of Ali Muhammad Misgar said that four army men came. Two of them remained outside the house. She was knocked down and one of them put a rifle on her chest and the other began to molest her. She resisted and began to shout. They forced her to go to the living room and asked her to open the cupboards. Before she could do that she was again knocked down. A neighbour's ten year old son was sleeping. He was thrown out and the soldiers tore her shalwar and put a hanky on her mouth to stop her from shouting and raped her. She lost consciousness. Her husband came later and found her in this condition. Next day the elders of the village reported the matter to the Deputy Commissioner. The Camp commandant did not have an answer. He assured the DC and DSP that three men involved in the rape had been "shifted" to another place. (this is the punishment of rape of an innocent Muslim woman in a Bharat town, raising slogans for freedom. Without provocation, police was directed to fire. For one hour, the firing continued and people were chased and killed. Abdus-Samad Mir, Assistant sub-divisional magistrate, was present. He did not give order of firing, he was dragged and forced to sign the order of the firing by the para-military troops.

"In the Shaheedi Chauk, the flag of the Kashmir Liberation Front was flying on the pole and the magistrate was asked to pull it down. He showed his inability to pull the flag down from the pole. Then a bucket of cold water was hung round his neck and he was forced to stand in the cold water of the fountain well. Armed forces kept their guns pointing towards him. Fourteen persons were killed and more than a hundred seriously injured. All injured persons received injuries on the upper parts of their bodies. Then curfew was imposed for nine days.

"In Handwara, during the house to house searches, by the paramilitary forces, they misbehaved with women, cut their hair, took away cash and gold and men and women were beaten. Women were stripped naked and raped. One girl was gangraped before four male and female members of her family. Since, then she has been living with her mother's sister out of shame. She was raped when she was performing the last *namaz* (prayer) of the day. Her cousin left the house next day and has not returned since. Another girl shifted from Srinagar to Handwara. She was beaten and raped. Her second sister jumped from the first floor window on the road and broke her legs.

The SDM himself related the story of his humiliation, how he was forced to stand in the five feet deep water in the chilly winter. His eyes were bandaged and there was the bucket covering his head and face. When the SHO arrived, he brought the SDM out of the water tank. He said that he had refused to issue orders of firing to the BSF and the CRPF and his signatures were obtained by force.

Bashir Ahmad Wani of Nadirgund, 22 years old, was tied to an electric pole for 15 hours till he became unconscious. When some people tried to free him they were also beaten severely. He was admitted to the hospital by the intervention of the local S.P.

The team met 10 persons in Baramula, who said that no life-saving drugs were available. Impure drinking water was supplied to the people and about 300 people fell ill. Urea was mixed with rice. Two persons were killed on January 24 by unprovoked firing. Services of Manjit Sing Plasa, professor in the local government college, were terminated for his pro-Kashmiri and anti-India views. Forty members of the Dukhtaran-i-Millat (Daughters of the Millat) met the team and raised slogans of freedom of Kashmir from India. "The martyrs did not belong to any party. They were not associated with any leader, but raised slogans of *Azadi ya maut* (We want freedom or death).

Says the report "Kashmiris have their separate culture. India supported the movement of Bangladesh, it is supporting the freedom movement in Palestine, South Africa under Nelson Mandela and Latin American countries. Under what logic does it suppress the freedom movement of the Kashimris? The report says that article 370 of the Indian Constitution has also eroded and Kashmir is like any other part of India now.

We have given only some glimpses of the happenings in Indian held Kashmir, written by Indian human rights activists who are subjects of India, and whose loyalty to their homeland and whose patriotism towards India is beyond question. There are many other reports. They have set up a Human Rights Commission of India also and it was said that it would set up branches in every district of India, but it did not do so in Kashmir. Farooq Abdullah volunteered to set up a Human Rights Commission of Jammu and Kashmir itself and when the bill was introduced in the legislative Assembly in the Jammu session to legislate for the setting up of the Human Rights Commission. Farooq Abdullah made it clear that no cases should be registered against the Indian army and the paramilitary forces with the Human Rights Commission. He frankly told the opposition, which had demanded that the Indian troops in Kashmir should be answerable before the Commission as most of the human rights violations in Kashmir were committed by the Army and Security Forces, that the Kashmir legislative Assembly owed its existence to the Indian army which helped in making the elections in Kashmir possible in September 1996. Had not the Indian army done this, said Farooq frankly enough, there would have been no Assembly in Kashmir and the President's rule would have been continuing to this day, pleaded Farooq.

Nearly 2000 pages of a large size report of violations has been compiled and published by the Kashmir Bar Association regarding the violation of Human Rights in Kashmir. There is the book about atrocities on the women folk of Kashmir by Shabnam Qayyum, the enthusiastic journalist from Srinagar. A number of books in English and Urdu have appeared from Srinagar and Delhi, about the main issue of Kashmir and the violations of human rights in the State.[105]

What the Indian army and the security forces have been doing in Kashmir makes one hang his head in shame. Young boys of Kashmir are subjected to unnatural offences while in custody and they are also forced to commit unnatural offence with each other. Unnatural offence is committed by the "jawans" of the Indian army even with women.

There is hardly any household in Kashmir which has not suffered at the hands of the Indian army of occupation during the past ten years. Somebody's father, husband, brother has been killed. Somebody's neighbour, sister, mother, or daughter has been raped. Rape has been used as a weapon of war by the Indian brutes on the Muslim population of Kashmir, but it has increased the hatred of Kashmiris against India manifold. The weekly *Chatan* Srinagar recently wrote that it is common knowledge that brothers are arrested in place of brothers, fathers in place of sons, but in Kashmir, even mothers are arrested in place of sons who are wanted by the Indian military in fake or real cases.

Even, the sacred places and shrines of the Kashmiri people have not been spared. The famous and most respected shrine and the town of the greatest saint of Kashmir, Sheikh Nooruddin Wali, the Alamdar or banner-bearer of Kashmir, was desecrated and ultimately burnt. The Khanqah-i Aala of Shah Hamadan in Tral, also an old but most respected shrine, was also burnt last year and no judicial inquiry has been held in either of the cases.

Srinagar has become a city of bunkers. People are forced out of their homes in bitter arctic cold of Kashmir and their homes are ransacked and looted. Privacy has gone to dogs. Nobody considers himself or herself safe in Kashmir now. Nobody knows at what time of the night (or the day) the searchers can enter a home and start plundering it without any warrant or notice.

STATE TERRORISM IN KASHMIR

State terrorism has been started by the Indian authorities, the Army and the Intelligence agencies of India against the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Freedom fighters in Kashmir are being dubbed as terrorists by the Indian Government and the so called Government of Occupied Kashmir. There is no question of terrorism in Kashmir by the mujahideen. The targets of the militant action of the mujahideen are the Indian army and the security forces. They are fighting with a purpose and that purpose is that the people of Kashmir should be given the right of self-determination. which was promised to them by the United Nations and the leaders of India when the Kashmir case was referred to the UN Security Council.

In fact, the authorities in Indian held Kashmir have themselves started patronising and organising terrorism. Some militants, who had joined the ranks of the mujahideen on the instance of the authorities and in the hope of getting some worldly gains, parted company with the mujahideen and reverted to the side of the powers that be. Fake functions were organised showing them "surrendering" to the Governor of Kashmir or to some other authority. They have been assured of official patronage. Their job is to fight the mujahideen if they can, terrorise and intimidate the leaders and the workers of the All Parties Hurriet Conference, the journalists and editors who project the freedom struggle of Kashmir. The police is under direction not to register cases against them even if there is a complaint of serious offences and crimes against them including rape, murder and plundering. One of these counter-insurgents is the notorious Kuka Paray, a street singer who turned a militant then formed a political party, the Kashmir Awami League, and "fought" the election to the Lok Sabha in September 1996, and "won" one seat because the security forces were fully supporting him in the farcical election. The people had boycotted the elections and Kuka Paray, whose real name is something else but has now adopted the name Jamshed Shirazi managed to fill his ballot boxes with some ballots before noon, and was declared successful. At one time, it was reported that he was groomed for Chief Ministership by the agencies in Kashmir and for that, he was taken to New Delhi, where he stayed as a guest of the government. But, the Minister Home disagreed and said that Kuka could be used as a stooge but to make him Chief Minister of Occupied Kashmir would further damage the image of India in the world and also in Kashmir.

The "surrendered militants" receive patronage from the Army and the Security Forces. Once Kuka Paray held a press conference in Srinagar in which he said that his "men" had to be paid nearly four or five thousand rupees per month to keep them going.

Jalil Andrabi, a leading lawyer of Kashmir who represented the case of Kashmir in the UN Human Rights Commission in 1995 and also in the International Jurist Commission, was murdered by such pro-India militants when he was again preparing to go to Geneva next year. One day, when he was coming home in his car in Srinagar along with his wife, when he came out of the car he was arrested by unidentified gunmen and kidnapped. His wife raised hue and cry and informed the Kashmir Bar Association of what had happened. The lawyer fraternity of Kashmir raised their voice of protest and struck work for quite a number of days as it feared foul play. The Government was completely silent about the whole incident. Earlier too, attempts had been made to kidnap Andrabi. After some days his dead body was found in the river. He had been killed so that he could not go again to the world community to ask for justice for his people. If this is not State terrorism then what is it? Earlier, Muhammad Shabaan Vakeel, Editor of the daily *Al-Safa* was murdered in broad day light, because he expressed fearless views in his paper about the issue of Kashmir. Attempts were made on the lives of other journalists also. One day Yusuf Jamil of the BBC was kidnapped by the Indian army. When reports about his arrest started coming in world media, at first the Indian Minister Defence pointedly said in a press release that the Army had no hand in the incident at all. Mr. Jamil was taken to the Uri town and then let off after questioning. He managed to reach back Srinagar and said that he was taken by the army authorities for questioning. The same Minister Defence, which had first denied having any hand in the affair, admitted that this was the doing of some "junior officers" of the Army in Kashmir. As if it made any difference whether the kidnappers were senior or junior.

The same Yusuf Jamil was sitting in his office when a burqa-clad woman entered the room and handed over a parcel to him. A press-photographer Mushtaq was also sitting there. Mushtaq tried to open the parcel and it blasted with a bang, killing Mushtaq and injuring Yusuf Jamil. It was evident that the purpose was to kill Yusuf, but, by the Grace of Allah, Yusuf was saved but he had to relinquish his job with the BBC. In similar manner, Ghulam Nabi Khayal, who used to send despatches to the Pakistan television from Delhi, had to abandon his job as the counter-insurgents, i.e., the pro-Army militants, attacked his home in Rawalpura Srinagar with hand grenades. Attacks have been made on other journalists like Sheen Meem and also on the Editor of the daily *Aftab*. They also tried to kidnap the Editor of *Wadi Ki Awaz*, Ghulam Nabi Shaida, but he raised an alarm and his neighbours came to his rescue. The pro-India militants also tried to harm Naeema Ahmad Mahjoor a Kashmiri lady who was associated with the Urdu Service of the BBC, when she was on a visit to her home she also raised an alarm and her neighbours saved her from the harm that could have been done to her.[114]

Aziz Kashmiri (Abdul Aziz Shora), Editor of the daily *Roshni* of Srinagar, was crossing a bridge in Srinagar on foot. The security forces threw a tear-gas shell which burst quite near him and that made the old journalist swoon. This is the way in which freedom of expression is suppressed and intellectuals and journalists are terrorised. Zafar Meraaj, the special Correspondent of the daily *Muslim* Islamabad (Pakistan) in Srinagar, was also attacked by the *Sarkari* militants,(who are known as such because the *Sarkar* or the Government is at their back) and injured badly. He had to remain in the hospital for a number of months.

Home of Sayyed Ali Gilani of the Jamaat-i-Islami of Kashmir, who represents his party in the Hurriet Alliance (and has now been elevated to the position of Chairman of the APHC), was attacked with shells and rockets when he was not at home. At one time, the *Sarkari* militants tried to arrest him but he and other inmates shut the doors from inside, informed the local police and thus, saved themselves from being kidnapped. In similar manner, the house of Khwajah Abdul Ghani Lone, chief of the Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Conference was attacked with a hand-grenade and the outer wall was damaged. Lone is in Jail at the time of writing of these lines, without trial and his employees like the driver etc., have also been arrested.

Nothing has been known or done so far to trace the culprits of the murder in 1990 of Maulana Muhammad Farooq Mirwaiz, the father of Umar Farooq, the former President of the All Parties Hurriet Conference. This speaks volumes not only about the inefficiency of the administration, but of its connivance in acts of murder, killing, kidnapping and intimidation of political leaders, workers and journalists.

A press correspondent in Ganderbal was killed for sending reports against the atrocities of the army to his paper in Srinagar. Ghulam Nabi Mahjan, an aged calligrapher was done to death in his home as he was associated with writing some material for newspapers.

Newspapers are under constant watch. Governor Jagmohan on one occasion decided that all the newspapers be banned and as regards new and official advertisement, that could reach the people through the official electronic media. This resulted in a strong protest against the Governor. Leading Indian journalists like Kuldip Nayyar also came all the way from New Delhi to join the Kashmiri editors in a sit-in in front of the State legislature in Srinagar to protest against this high-handed and dictatorial order of the Governor and the order had to be withdrawn.

"Civil War and Uncivil Government"[115]

The above is the title of a report of the Indian NGOs namely Andhrapradesh Civil Liberties Committee, Hyderabad Committee for protection of Democratic Rights, Mumbai (Bombay) and People's Union for Democratic Rights, Delhi. The report of the team of these associations which visited Kashmir, was presented to the people of India in November 1997. Weekly *Pulse* Islamabad, while commenting on the report says that the report states that the Indian army seems no more restrained under the Farooq Abdullah government than it did under Governor's rule or President's rule. In fact, the fear has been aggravated because of the army's creation of *Sarkari* (officially patronised) militants who have also run rampage on the Kashmiri populace.

According to the report, a total of 1004 persons were killed by the security forces (including the Jammu and Kashmir police) during the period October 1996-May 1997. Citing the Human Rights division of the Institute of Kashmir Studies publications, the Report gives a figure of at least 2,000 people having been killed in custodial killings. This form of abuse is referred to as "catch and kill", according to the Report. In Kashmir the killing is often purposeful culmination of torture whatever, the purpose of the torture, the torture is frequently extended till it becomes fatal. Or else, bullets are pumped into the body at the end.

A look at the few who have survived the torture-either because the forces decided that he is not important enough to kill or because some pressure including payment of bribes was exerted on them to save the life will tell a lot about the nature and the degree of torture. Our team met and spoke to the patients in the Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences in Saura, Srinagar on the eve of 28th May, 1997. They were in the nephrology ward of the hospital i.e., they were being treated for kidney damage. The particular disease they are suffering from is called Rabdomyolisis. It is a severe form of kidney failure and may result in death if not treated in time. The cause of this type of damage to the kidneys is said to be very severe beating on the thighs, especially, the buttocks.

After talking to the victims and their relations, the Report has identified six specific types of torture used by the armed forces in Indian held Kashmir. These are:

1. Beating repeatedly and hard for hours at a stretch with rifles and thick sticks all over the body. The persons is often suspended while being beaten.
2. Keeping wooden rollers on the thighs with the person lying on the stomach or the back, and trampling upon the rollers sliding up and down, crushing the thigh muscles, or else standing on the rollers and beating on

the legs and soles of the feet with sticks and rifles.

3. Giving electric shocks to sensitive parts of the body such as penis and testicles. Splashing the organ with water simultaneously to enhance the impact of the application of the current.

4. Forcing the person to stand bending forward and keeping a lighted stove between the legs, thighs and sexual organs. Or in winter forcing the person to sit or walk on snow without any protection to the skin.

5. Sticking sticks and rods up the anus, causing rupture and hamorrage inside.

6. Forcing the person's head into water, sometimes even drain water, until he nearly chokes to death . . .

The torture is, nowhere so barbarous as we have seen in Kashmir.

According to the Report the reason, why this is so, is because the army, when it does police duty, behaves more brutally than the police, because it is less accountable to the law and the normal process of justice. Also the army are "outsiders" as there is no social accountability.

In Kashmir, the Indian army sees itself fighting India's principal enemy, Pakistan. The Indian hostility is reflected brutally in that extra bit of cruelty and callousness the armed forces exhibit in Kashmir. The report says: In Kashmir it is frightening how easily one can be picked up by the armed forces and just not be heard of afterwards for any length of time. Our team visited the Regional Engineering College, Srinagar. We were shocked to hear of two Professors who had been arrested by the armed forces and were not heard of ever since.

Bribes are offered and accepted for the release of victims and this has undermined the professionalism of the Indian army.

The Report also records killings in the name of "cross-fire" which it says are in fact retaliatory attacks upon unarmed civilians. After the "militants" have struck, the Indian forces continue with their revenge, forgetting the civilian population.

There is also the destruction of the dewellings and other property. Official figures are cited in the Report taken from *Indian Express*, 29th October, 1996.

No. of incidents	4018
Educational institutions	686
Hospitals	6
Bridges	337
Shops	1162
Government Buildings	1206
Private Homes	8468

Rape has been used as a weapon of war in Kashmir during the past nine years. Cases of rape are denied by the Army in their press releases, but the State Minister Home declared in the Assembly "something seems to have happened, but not as much as is claimed". The Report goes to add: "Officials clarify that only one woman was raped or that "she was only molested and not raped". The incident of village Wavoosa, near Rangret Budgam district, took place when the Indian Prime Minister, on a visit to the State, was staying in Jammu that the situation was normalising in Kashmir, which he said was the part of the Indian Union. At about midnight of 23rd April, a group of armymen from 13 Raj Rifles unit came to the village. They went into three houses, one after the other and sexually assaulted the women. At the house of Abdul Ahad Mir, who has seven daughters, only one of them is married—the armymen entered, while the officer stood outside and only seemed to be interested in searching the women—allegedly for weapons concealed in their cloths (that they had on while sleeping!). The married sister was sexually assaulted along with other four sisters.

Next the Raj Rifles men went on to a neighbouring house where the woman was alone with her young son and daughter. Her husband was out on duty. He works for *Beacon*, the Indian army's Border Roads Organisation, as a driver. The soldiers went and knocked upon the door at the back. She thought they had come to drink water and opened the door . . . Then they said you have a pistol hidden in your clothes, and forcibly removed her clothes and raped her. This time it was the commander "with the French-cut beard" who committed the assault.

Then the soldiers went to another neighbouring house that of Ghulam Qadir Wani, whose wife Khati and daughter Naza spoke to our team. Khati told us that it was nearly 1.45 A.M. by the time they reached her house. They broke the window, showed the torch inside and tried to come in, but there was a mesh that prevented them. Then they broke open the door and came in. Khati was drawn on the floor and she was threatened that she would be shot if she shouted or tried to put on the lights. Then the soldiers raped her daughters Naza and Fareeda.

The woman who wept while narrating the terrible incident of the night told us that the soldiers selected these three homes with the knowledge that there was only one man in one house, none in the second and two (of whom the elder one is an asthma patient) in the third. The soldiers who have the prerogative of questioning any one and searching any house know which house is fair game for their nocturnal assaults.

Apart from the Wavoosa incidents, the Report gives details of a number of other cases of rape by the army in a planned and deliberate manner. The report describes the non-existent state of law and the courts, with no one to question the excesses of the Indian security forces—especially the Indian army they continue to repress and abuse the human rights of the Kashmiri people.

The conclusion of the Report is based on the premise that only solution must be grounded on the hopes and aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The demands include:

The withdrawal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act that gives arbitrary powers to the armed forces and the police.

An immediate end to all human rights violations such as torture—custodial killings, fake encounters, arson, rape, looting of property etc.

Disarming of the pro-Government militants—Stop the policy of encouraging private armed gangs to do the State's counter-insurgency job.

As we have seen, this is not the first report of its kind from Indian authors. So many reports have appeared during the last decade or so about Kashmir from India itself. Then, there are the annual reports of the American State Department, the Amnesty International, the Asia Watch and Associations like the Council for Human Rights in Jammu and Kashmir, based in London, the reports of the World Freedom Movement, Kashmiri American Council and the like which deserve attention of those who are interested in human rights and a democratic solution of the issue of Kashmir.

Suppression of Human Rights

Suppression of human rights in Jammu and Kashmir by India is an established fact. India is not only, deliberately denying human rights only to the people of occupied Kashmir but also to those of Azad Kashmir and the nearly two million citizens of Jammu Kashmir who have been forced to flee from Kashmir in the past and are living as refugees in Pakistan. These are the people who had to leave their homes and hearths to save their skins or were faced with death or imprisonment at the hands of their Indian enslavers.

US States Department has issued a report named *1996 Human Rights Report* on India. This report touches the human rights position in Occupied Kashmir also. In it there are observations which show that all is not well in Kashmir from the human rights point of view. I have, therefore, picked up gleanings from the State Department Document about the human rights situation in Occupied Kashmir.

The Report says on page 1: "These (human rights abuses) are acute in Kashmir, where the judicial system has been disrupted by terrorist threats including the assassination of judges and witnesses and by judicial tolerance of the Government's heavy-handed anti-militant tactics and by the refusal of the Security Forces to obey court orders. A decrease in abuses by Security Forces coincided with the increased abuses by pro-Government militants".

Serious human rights abuses include: "Extrajudicial executions and other political killings and excessive use of force by security forces, torture, rape and deaths of suspects in police custody, throughout the country; poor prison conditions, arbitrary arrests and incommunicado detention in Kashmir and the Northeast continued in the country of thousands arrested under special security legislation prolonged detention while under trial." (page 1 of the Report).

"Political killings by Government forces (including deaths in custody and fake encounter killings) by pro-Government counter militants and insurgents continued at a high level in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the seven North Eastern states where insurgencies continued."

"Security forces committed an estimated 100-200 extrajudicial killings of suspected militants in Kashmir. The decline (in the number of killings) was at least partially offset by an increased number of killings by pro-government counter militants. According to press reports and anecdotal accounts those killed typically had been detained by Security Forces and their bodies bearing multiple bullet wounds and often marks of torture were returned to the relatives or were otherwise discovered the same day or a few days later. Security forces claim that these killings, when acknowledged at all, occur in armed encounters with militant members of the Security Forces who are seldom held accountable for these killings."

"However, the Security Forces are, therefore, not required to—and do not—report custodial deaths in Kashmir or the North East of India" (Page 3 of the US State Department Report).[116]

"Killings and abductions of suspected militants and other persons by pro-Government counter militants emerged as a significant pattern in Kashmir. Counter militants are former separatist militants who have surrendered top government forces but have retained their arms and paramilitary organisations. Some observers number them as several thousand strong but the precise figure is unknown. They committed an estimated 100 to 200 political killings in Kashmir although this figure is speculative. On March 20, 1996, journalist Sheikh Ghulam Rasool was abducted from his home by counter militants reportedly angered by a news report criticising their activities. Rasool's body was found a month later in the Jhelum river. There are credible reports that government agencies fund, exchange intelligence with and direct operations of counter militants as part of the counter insurgency effort. Counter militants are known to screen passers by at roadblocks and guard extensive areas of the Kashmir Valley from attacks by militants. In sponsoring and condoning counter militant activity, which takes place outside the legal system, the Government cannot avoid responsibility for abductions, murders and other abuses by these irregulars.

In March(96) counter militants believed to be fronting for the Rashtria Rifles paramilitary force, abducted lawyer and human rights activist Jalil Andrabi from his car in Srinagar. Andrabi was preparing to attend the Human Rights Commission of United Nations at the time of his abduction. His body, displaying marks of torture was later discovered in the Jhelum river. Five counter militants believed to be the abductors were found dead a month later. A court directed investigation into Andrabi's murder was stymised, when the Rashtria Rifles did not respond to the Court's request for assistance and denied investigators access to witnesses".

"The total number of deaths in Kashmir was little changed compared with the total in 1995, although, the proportion of civillian deaths increased. Reliable press reports indicate that 1,214 civillians, 94 security forces personnel, and 1,271 militants died in insurgency related violence in 1996 in Kashmir. 1995 figures were 1,050 civillians, 202 security force personnel and 1308 militants . . . Press reports indicate that the increase in civillian deaths is attributed to militant efforts to disrupt elections and the new government . . . The Government acknowledges that as of December, it held 2070 persons in connection with the insurgency in 5 detention centres in Jammu and Kashmir. Of these, 1298 were held under the Public Safety Act and 772 under other laws, including the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act. Several thousand others are held in short-term confinement in transit and interrogation. "Human Rights groups maintain that as many as 3,000 more are held by the military or the paramilitary forces in long term — unacknowledged detention in interrogation centers and transit camps normally intended for short-term confinement" (page 5-6)

"According to UN Special Rapporteur, torture victims or their relatives have reportedly had difficulty in filing complaints because police in Kashmir were issued instructions not to file an FIR without permission from higher authorities. In addition, section 7 of the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act provides that unless approval is obtained from the Central Government, "no prosecution suit or other legal proceedings shall be instituted against any person in respect of any thing done or purported to be done in excercise of the powers of the Act". This provision virtually allows the Security Forces to Act with virtual impunity. The rape of persons in custody is part of the broader pattern of custodial abuse."

"With the exception of an agreement with the International Commission of Red Cross for visits to detention facilities in Kashmir, the Government does not allow NGOs to monitor prison conditions."

"Although, one of these laws, The Terrorist and Disruptive Practices (Prevention) Act (TADA) that had been subject to the most extensive abuse lapsed in May 1995, 3785 persons previously arrested under the act continue to be held in a number of states at the year's end . . .

"The Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act (PSA) of 1978, covers corresponding procedures for that State. Over half the detainees in Jammu and Kashmir are held under the PSA" (pages 6—11).

"Arbitrary interference with privacy. Home, or correspondence: The police must obtain warrants for searches and seizures. The authorities in Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab and Assam have special powers to search and arrest without a warrant."

"The Indian Telegraph Act authorises the surveillance of communication, including monitoring telephone conversations and intercepting personal mail in case of public emergency or "in the interests of public safety or tranquility." These powers have been used by every state government.

"Between 350,000 and 400,000 Indian army and paramilitary forces are deployed in Jammu and Kashmir

... Under the Jammu and Kashmir distrurbed areas Act, and the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act, both passed in July 1990, Security Forces personnel have extraordinary powers including authority to shoot suspected lawbreakers and those disturbing the peace, and to destroy structures suspected of harbouring militants or arms."

"In March paramilitary and police forces clashed with militants who had attempted to occupy the Hazratbal shrine in Srinagar. Nine militants were killed in a gun battle while within the shrine compound. Later, while the militants voluntarily evacuated the shrine. 24 more were killed when security forces surrounded houses near the shrine in which the armed militants had taken shelter and opened fire with mortars, grenades and firearms. Those surrounded were offered a chance to surrender, but only three women and two children left the houses before the firing began. The houses were completely destroyed and the militants killed."

"The security forces have not abandoned the abduction and extrajudicial execution of suspected militants much less embraced accountability for these abuses. However, the inclination of many commanders to distance themselves from their units from such practices has led to diminished participation in them and a transfer of some of this role to counter-militants." (page 14.)

Under the Official Secrets Act (OSA), the Government may restrict publication of sensitive stories but the Government sometimes interprets this broadly to suppress criticism of its policies. The 1971 Newspapers Incitement of Offences Act remains in effect in Jammu and Kashmir. Under this Act, the District Magistrate may prohibit the press from carrying material resulting in "incitement to murder" or "any act of violence". As punishment the Act stipulates that the authorities may seize the newspapers and printing presses.

"Srinagar and other parts of Jammu and Kashmir were under curfew sporadically during much of the year."

"State Assembly elections were held in Jammu and Kashmir in September, resulting in an end of Presdient rule and return to elected government for the first time in 6 years. Security forces in some places were seen to coerce the members of the public to go to polling places after militants called for a boycott of the elections."

"Two persons involved in human rights activities, Jalil Andrabi in Kashmir and Prag Kumar Das in Assam were killed by soldiers or pro-government counter militants, or both (See section 1-A)". (page 19)

"Several international human rights organisations visited India during the year. An Amnesty International (AI) delegation made a month-long visit in July-August the first AI visit since 1992. The team visited Delhi, Karnataka, but was not permitted to visit Kashmir. After discussions with the AI team, (now retired) NHRC Chairman, Ranganath Misra publicly urged that AI be permitted to visit the Kashmir Valley." (page 20).

I have not added a single word nor made any slightest change in the above quotations from the US State Department's report on the Human Rights in India. This I have done so that the readers may judge for themselves, what actually has been going on in the State of Jammu and Kashmir under Indian rule. Back in 1940, seven years before India and Pakistan became free, the Indian National Congress, whose leaders were Gandhi and Nehru, had passed a resolution that when Bharat became free, it would be an armyless state and would lead the rest of the world in disarmament. And Gandhi's and Nehru's India has the fourth largest army in the world.

It has no love and regard for the United Nations Organisation in which it wants to become a veto weilding member and the big sixth power in the world. It has trampled UN principles and offers of mediation from the UN, from other countries of the world, large and small to help in the dispute of the future of Jammu and Kashmir. Let us see what the world does now to save the people of Kashmir from complete annihilation and ethnic cleansing.

This was in the American State Department report for the year 1996. More violations of Human Rights in Jammu and Kashmir have been enumerated in the Report for the year 1997.

According to the Report in 1997 United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture reported that torture was practised systematically by the (Indians) Security forces against persons in Jammu and Kashmir "In order to coerce them to confess militant activity to reveal information about suspected militants, or to inflict punishment for suspected support for sympathy with militants". According to the Rapporteur, "on no occasion had information been made public regarding action taken against Security Forces personnel in Jammu and Kashmir for acts of torture".

Nor, it appears, is such torture confined to Indian held Kashmir. According to the State Department Report the prevelance of torture by police in detention facilities throughout the country, is borne out by the number of cases in death in police custody.

In addition:

The rape of persons in custody is part of the broader pattern of custodial abuse . . . A pattern of rape by paramilitary personnel allegedly exists in Jammu and Kashmir and the North-east but is not included in (Indian Human Rights Commission) statistics because it involves military forces.

The Report also highlights arbitrary arrests and detentions by the Indian Security Forces and the non-functioning of the judicial system in Occupied Kashmir and the Muslim majority population in the Kashmir Valley suffers from repressive tactics of the security forces.

What really jolts one is that the report shows that even after fifty years of independence, the Indian state and society continue to discriminate against women and children—and the scheduled castes. In addition to women, according to the Report in 1997, there were 3,899 "dowry deaths". In addition, registered cases of violence against women, according to the Indian National Crimes Record Bureau, which includes molestation, rape, kidnapping and wife-murder, rose from 98,948 in 1993 to 100,846 in 1995 (the last year for which statistics are available, according to the Report).

But in 1997, in the State of Orissa alone,710 cases of dowry torture were reported by mid-1997. The State Department Report also found that higher female mortality at all age levels, including female infanticide accounts for a decline in the ratio of females to males.

Extrajudicial persecutions and other political killings and excessive use of force by security forces combating active insurgencies in Jammu and Kashmir and several northeastern state include torture and rape by police and other agents of the Government, and deaths of suspects in police custody throughout the country, poor prison conditions, arbitrary arrest and incommunicado detention in Jammu and Kashmir and the northeast, legal and societal discrimination against women, extensive societal violence against women, female bondage and prostitution, discrimination and violence against indigenous people and scheduled castes and tribes, widespread intercaste and communal violence, child prostitution, trafficking and infanticide, and widespread exploitation of indentured bonded and child labour.

According to an abridged version of the report published in the *Pulse* weekly. Islamabad. Some of the human rights abuses relating to political and extrajudicial killings, in places like Indian held Kashmir, one is familiar with, and the report confirms earlier such reports and testimonies given by Indian NGOs, foreign NGOs and the Kashmiris themselves. For instance, this report states that security forces committed an estimated hundred to two hundred extra-judicial killings of suspected militants in Jammu and Kashmir.

And again, according to the Report, Security Forces also held persons in incommunicado detention on occasion, as in the 1996, case of human rights activist Jalil Anrabi, such missing persons were later found dead.

In addition, according to the Report, rape was also used a weapon of the war, against militants, not only in Indian held Kashmir but also in the North Eastern States. Apart from IHK, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act of 1958 and the Disturbed Areas Act also remained in effect in several Indian states like Nagaland, Manipur and Assam. The Report quotes an Amnesty International Report of March 1997, which concluded that the pattern of killings in the North East point to an official policy sanctioning extra-judicial killings.

Nor is it only in the North-Eastern States that the Indian State is facing separatist insurgencies which have resulted in killings and abuse by Security Forces. According to the US State Department Report, since 1980, there have been clashes between police and Naxalite Maoist revolutionaries in North Western Andhra Pradesh and here too, the Disturbed Areas Act has been in force in a number of districts for more than a year. The result has been that as of September (1997) police had killed 102 Naxaklites in approximately 80 "encounters".

The irony is that in October 1997, India signed the United Nations Convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. But because the Indian Government chose not to acceede to article 20, 21 and 22 of the Convention, it meant that the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, will still not be able to investigate allegations of torture in India. Yet torture is widespread.

PLIGHT OF KASHMIRI WOMEN

Shabnam Qayyum, a journalist of Srinagar, Indian held Kashmir, has written a detailed and fullfledged book on the plight of Kashmiri women. And this is not the only book, dozens of books have appeared from India itself on the abject condition of the Kashmiri women, who have been made targets of Indian forces brutalities during the past fifty years of Indian ruler of Kashmir, particularly, the last ten years when the Indian troops have got a free hand and Draconian laws are in operation in the occupied State in the form of:

1. Indian Armed Forces Special Powers Act.
2. The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act.
3. The Unlawful Activities Act.
4. The Disturbed Areas Act.
5. The Public Safety Act.

In India, the No. 2 Act was used specially against Muslims and in Kashmir it was used against the freedom fighters who, of course, are Muslims. This law has been abolished in India, but in Kashmir, those against whom action was taken during the past years, still continue to be in detention and they have not been released.

The fortnightly *Kashmir Calling*, Lahore reported in March 1998:

It is safe to assume that the lives of fifty thousand women have been affected directly or indirectly, by the atrocities of the Armed Forces of India in held-Kashmir since 1990.

Amnesty International, various NGOs and human rights organisations have documented incidents of gang-rape of young girls and grand-mothers alike, Abduction of women by military and para-military forces and sexual abuse of women sometimes in the presence of male family members, is used as a weapon of war. In the majority of cases, no investigation takes place.

The reports of sexual abuse of women in Kashmir can be verified in the text of human rights crisis to *Kashmir, A pattern of Impunity* published by Washington-based Asia Watch, a division of Human Rights Watch and Physicians for Human Rights. These observations were made at the 42nd session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in New York by Dr. Tanweer Mir, while making a statement on violence against women.

Elaborating, Dr. Tanweer said that according to the Institute of Kashmir Studies, the devastating impact of Kashmir conflict had left over 30,000 widows while several thousand Kashmiri girls became targets of sexual crimes at the hands of the armed forces of India.

The Institute estimates the number of custodial killings as well over 2,000 minor girls often targets of the Army. They experience sexual harassment from the army personnel and hence are hesitant to attend schools.

The presence of over 7,00,000 armed forces in the Valley has heightened the insecurity of the women and children in Kashmir.

The blatant violation of human rights continues to this day, despite documentation and evidence provided by London-based Amnesty International, Washington-based Asia Watch, professional bodies like those of lawyers and New York-based physicians associations from the Valley.

The situation has been very well described in the report of Ashish Ghosh, a member of All India People's Resistance Forum in his statement following his solidarity visit in November 1997.[107]

POLITICAL PARTIES IN AZAD KASHMIR

Like Indian held Kashmir, there are a number of parties in Azad Kashmir and amongst the refugees of Jammu and Kashmir living in Pakistan who claim to be fighting for the freedom of Jammu and Kashmir from the Indian yoke.

Strictly speaking, a political party is one which has some elected representation in the legislature or the parliament of a State. But in the case of Indian held Kashmir, we have not relied on this criterion because the popular parties there do not take part in the elections, firstly, they believe that the elections cannot decide the issue of self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir. What is more, they believe that under Indian domination, the elections cannot be free. There are practical and even legal hitches in this respect. One has to submit the affidavit that he or she considers accession to India as legal and irrevocable. No Kashmiri worth his salt is in a mood to submit such an affidavit.

There is one thing more and that is that the field of jurisdiction of the (AK Government is a little less than 5,000 (five thousand) square miles of the territory known as Azad Kashmir which is about 1/18 (one eighteenth) of the area of the entire State. The vast areas of Gilgit and Baltistan have no representation in the AK legislature and that of the occupied Jammu and Kashmir is merely nominal. What is more, the aim of the Government is economic development of the free areas, nothing doing with the solution of the international issue of Kashmir, constitutionally.

But still, we will have to keep in view the elections that have been taking place from time to time in the liberated areas and they have been showing their present strength in the AK Legislative Assembly. We will take up the parties keeping in view their seniority in terms of their age.

The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim

Conference, which was formed in October 1932, with the name All Jammu and Kashmir Political Conference, was converted into National Conference by its leaders but some of them and others revived it in a couple of years. But the National Conference and the Muslim Conference continued to exist parallel to each other, one for India and the other for Pakistan.

When Kashmir got divided by the Cease fire line in 1949 and the war that preceded that, most of the top leaders of the Muslim Conference migrated to Pakistan. The Muslim Conference in Occupied Kashmir was left almost leaderless. It was presumed that the Muslim Conference was banned by the Occupied Kashmir. In Azad Kashmir, the Muslim Conference was the ruling party, there being no legislative assembly and no elections and the Muslim Conference was called by its supporters the "Qaumi Parliament" of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, but the Muslim Conference had to be recognized by the Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs of the Government of Pakistan. One of the factions of this Party, which favoured formation of a legislature and elections in a democratic manner, tried hard and ultimately formed a parallel party to press for its demand of democratisation of Azad Kashmir. It was a tough and prolonged fight. The demand for a Legislative Assembly in Azad Kashmir was raised also in the All Parties Kashmir Conference convened by the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Chaudhry Muhammad Ali in September 1955 at Karachi. A decision to form a Legislative Assembly seems to have been taken in the Conference but it could not be implemented as the opponents of democratic reform succeeded in sabotiging the APC decision. Democratic reforms were introduced in Azad Kashmir, paradoxically enough, when Ayub Khan was the Martial Law President and K.H. Khurshid was the President of Azad Kashmir. There was the Presidential Election Act, saying that 24,00 members of the Electoral College, would elect the President as well as twelve members of the Azad Jammu Kashmir Council. This election was held, being the first in the fifteen years History of Azad Kashmir, on non-party basis and later on Mr. Khurshid, who was elected President, and originally, belonged to the Muslim Conference, formed the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League, whose main slogan was and still is, the recognition of the Azad Kashmir Government (including Northern Areas) as the independent Government of the entire State.

In order of precedence, we may mention here for keeping the historical record straight. Other parties which were formed after the war in Kashmir started. Late in 1947, after the formation of the Azad Kashmir Government, Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Shah, Mir Waiz of Kashmir and some other refugees from Kashmir, formed the Kashmir Freedom League. Mir Waiz was made President, Sardar Abdur-Rehman Qasim Mitha the General Secretary and Ganshiam Kumar Reddy the publicity Secretary. The last two mentioned were non-state subjects, one belonged to Bombay and the other to Madras, but they were deeply engrossed in Kashmir politics as one was the owner and the other the Editor of the weekly *Kashmir Times* of Srinagar and had been externed from the state by the Dogra Government for their anti-Government and in some respects pro-freedom views and activities. One of them was Director Information, the other Deputy Director Information of the Azad Kashmir Government for a few weeks, before they fell out, and earned the displeasure of Kh. Abdur Rahim, the Commissioner of the Rawalpindi Division and were replaced by Dr. M.D. Taseer and Hafiz Jullendhari. The Freedom League died with their exit.

The first Pakistani party to be formed in Azad Kashmir was the Awami League of Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, who appointed Ch. Noor Husein of Mirpur as the Convenor and later replaced him by Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah as the President and Chaudhry Hamiddullah Khan as the General Secretary of the AK branch. Others, who joined it included Muhammad Ishaq Qureshi. This party raised the demand of democratic reform in Azad Kashmir with full force and Mr. Suharwardy resigned from the Kashmir Committee in protest when he was informed in a Committee meeting by Ch. Muhammad Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan that formation of the Legislative Assembly in Azad Kashmir had not been found to be advisable.

In the meantime, a Jammu and Kashmir United Front of five groups and parties of Azad Kashmir had been formed for Kashmir. The parties were the JK Kisan Mazdoor Conference headed by Kh. Abdussalam Yatu, the AK Awami Conference headed by Mr. Abdul Khaliq Ansari, advocate of Mirpur. The JK Peoples Conference headed by Mr. Abdul Majeed Malik advocate, (who later on retired as the Chief Justice of the AK High Court), The Kashmir Republican Party headed by Kh. Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and Anjuman-i-Naujvanan-i-Kashmir headed by Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal Jafari of Jammu (Sialkot). The five parties with an eighteen point manifesto formed a United Front with one General Secretary (Mir Abdul Aziz) and with one Advisor (Captain General Syed Ali Ahmad Shah, former President of Azad Kashmir Government). For Kashmir and Jammu they demanded the right of self-determination and for Azad Kashmir, including Gilgit, Baltistan, they demanded a democratic legislature. This joint Front continued to work till the entire scenario was changed because of imposition of martial law in Pakistan, the enactment of B.D. Act and the non-party Presidential Election Act in Azad Kashmir. Pir Ziauddin, former Minister, also set up the Kashmir Freedom Front, with the idea of intensifying the freedom struggle. This Front is, presently, headed by Mufti Sayyed Zia-ul Haq Bukhari.

The Liberation League was formed by K.H. Khurshid when he was in power in Azad Kashmir. Its main demand was the recognition of Azad Kashmir

Government and it included the amalgamation of Gilgit, Baltistan in Azad Kashmir in its programme. For sometime, the Government of General Ayub Khan, till such time as Mr. Manzoor Qadier was the Foreign Minister, seemed to favour the slogan, but soon the Government of Pakistan withdrew its implied support and later on. in 1964, soon after Sheikh Abdullah's short and cut-short visit to Pakistan and Azad Kashmir. Mr. Khurshid was unceremoniously thrown out of power. After that the Liberation League never came into power in Azad Kashmir, though, it secured some seats in one or two elections. After Khurshid, this Party was first headed by Ch. Muhammad Sharif Tariq advocate, then by Barrister Sultan Mahmud Chaudhry (now Prime Minister AK) and presently (April 1998) by Mr. Justice(r) Abdul Majeed Malik.

We have already said that there were rivalries and also differences of opinion between the Muslim Conference leaders and it was divided into groups and factions. In 1951, was formed the parallel group with Col.(r) Sher Ahmad Khan, *Fakhr-i-Kashmir*, as the President and Mir Abdul Aziz as General Secretary. Then Sardar Ibrahim was elected the leader. Another faction was led by Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah. All the three groups merged into one in 1956 and formed one Muslim Conference with S. Ibrahim as the Chief and Sardar Abdul Qayyum as President of Azad Kashmir Government. Such sort of an unelected alliance was not liked by elements which joined hands to form a United Front which we have already mentioned above.

A Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front was formed in 1965, in a session in Sialkot by prominent political workers, who thought that there should be one main organisation on both side of the Line of Cease Fire, named Plebiscite Front. But later, it transpired while the Constitution of the Plebiscite Front of Occupied Kashmir, headed by Afzal Beg and owned by Sheikh Abdullah stood for a plebiscite under UN auspices to determine the accesion of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan·or India, the Plebiscite Front in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan wanted undefined and unlimited plebiscite. This resulted in difference of opinion and the Front was split into two groups, one of which was organised by M. Sharif Tariq and Mir Abdul Aziz. The Plebiscite Front is now headed by Muhammad Sayeed Shah Nazki (Lahore) and from the Plebiscite Front later on were born other groups and factions calling themselves Kashmiri Liberation Front, JK Liberation Front, National JK Liberation Front and Rauf Group of Liberation Front and the like. It was in the year 1988, when Rajiv Gandhi came to Pakistan in connection with the SAARC Summit that an alliance was formed by different parties and factions of Azad Kashmir. A list of all these parties, which were "recognised" by the Azad Jammu Kashmir Prime Minister/President, Sardar Abdul Qayyum, will be given at the end of this chapter.

An Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was first formed by some political workers of Azad Kashmir and then owned up by bigger leaders like Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Mir Waiz Nooruddin and others. Later, Chaudhry Noor Husein of Mirpur became its sole custodian with his general secretaries, one after another the late Mr. Amin Mukhtar, Mr. K.B. Khan and last but not least Sardar Sawar Khan. Its last President was Sultan Mahmud Chaudhry, the barrister, who merged it into Liberation League and then jumped into the Pakistan Peoples Party Azad Kashmir along with some of the supporters of the Peoples League.

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim who for some time headed the parallel and for some time the joint Muslim Conference and also the Rawalpindi branch of Ch. Muhammad Ali's Nizam-i-Islam Party, also joined the Peoples Party when he was invited by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to do so in 1976 when the former was Azad Kashmir President and the later the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

When the Peoples Party was headed by Ms. Benazir Bhutto, who was also Prime Minister, the Peoples Party in Azad Kashmir won the elections and it was then headed by Sardar Ibrahim and it was hoped that the old Sardar with grey hair would be the Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir, but Benazir Bhutto bypassed the old man and made Mumtaz H. Rathore the Prime Minister and for this Sardar Ibrahim cursed the government of Benazir Bhutto, hoping and predicting that it would soon be drowned in the Arabian Sea. That is what almost happened. But Sardar Ibrahim did not leave the Peoples Party. He and his son stuck to the name and instead of Azad Kashmir Peoples Party, they formed the Jammu Kashmir Peoples Party, which did not make much headway, but in the second term Benazir Bhutto made amends and appointed Sardar Ibrahim as the President of Azad Jammu Kashmir, which post he is holding till date. The Jammu Kashmir Peoples Party (Ibrahim) and the PAPP Azad Kashmir are on good terms and both have a good working relationship with the Government of Pakistan, which is the paramount power of Pakistan in Azad Kashmir. Jammu Kashmir Peoples Party is headed by S. Khalid Ibrahim.

The present position in the Azad Kashmir Legislature is that the Peoples Party is the largest party and has a comfortable majority in the two houses (Legislative Assembly and Azad Jammu Kashmir Council). The Muslim Conference, unfortunately stands divided into the Qayyum group and the Sikandar Group and likewise, its strength of 10 members in the Legislative Assembly also stands divided in similar fashion.

Mention may also be made of the Tahreek-i-Amal of Major General(r) Muhammad Hayat Khan, former President and Chief Executive of Azad Kashmir won a number of seats. He has now formed the Pakistan Muslim League Azad Kashmir, known as the Junejo-Chattha Group of the Muslim League in Azad Kashmir.

There have been reports in the press in Islamabad and Rawalpindi and Muzaffarabad that the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) is also going to form its branch in Azad Kashmir, but somehow or the other, all such attempts are thwarted by the Muslim Conference, which convinces the Muslim League leaders that Muslim Conference has the same aims and objects as the Muslim League and then the idea is dropped and forgotten for sometime to be renewed when the League is in power in Pakistan.

The Jamaat Islami of Azad Kashmir is headed by Mr. Abdur Rashid Turabi, advocate, who is the first ever and the sole member of Azad Jammu Kashmir Jamaat in the Azad Kashmir Legislature. He is very active and now and then calls all parties conferences on various aspects of the Kashmir issue and Azad Kashmir affairs. We have already mentioned the Azad Kashmir Chapter of the All Parties Hurriet Conference. In Kashmir the All Parties High Command has seven members (six to be more accurate because the Peoples League member is out for the time being at least). In the Azad Kashmir Wing, there are five members. The Awami Action Committee of Mir Waiz Farooq has no official representative in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan, though his uncle Maulvi Ahmad Mir Waiz, who is the member of the Azad Jammu Kashmir Council, could do the job aptly. The Peoples Conference representative is Sayed Yusuf Naseem who is the convenor of the Azad Kashmir wing of the Hurriet. The Jamaat is represented by Kh. Ghulam Muhamamd Safi, General Secretary of the AKM Wing, the Liberation Front which is the party of Mr. M. Yaseen Malik in Kashmir, is represented by Mr. Altaf Qadiri. Previously, it was represented by Amanullah Khan, the Ittehadul Muslimeen of Maulana Abbas Ansari, by Mir Tahir Masood and the Muslim Conference by Mushtaq Ahmad Wani advocate. The Peoples League is no more in the APHC and its President Mahmud Ahmad Saghar has set up an office of the Party in Pakistan. Amanullah Khan is no more with the Liberation Front which is associated with the Hurriet but he is very active, despite that now and then he is invited by the Hurriet leaders in their informal functions and meetings. The parties in the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Alliance, which used to be headed by the President Azad Kashmir during the Muslim Conference regime, has the following parties and groups and the NGOs in its fold, as per the list compiled and circulated by Tariq Mashkoor Butt, the Secretary General. This alliance does not do much practical work, but serves as club to exchange notes after a few months, followed by lunch or dinner as the funds and circumstances permit.

The parties in the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Alliance are as follows. The precedencies the same as in the list circulated by the General Secretary of the Alliance:

(1) President of Azad Government of Kashmir (2) Prime Minister Azad Kashmir (3) President All Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference (4) President Anjuman-i-Imamia Gilgit (5) Convenor Awami Tehreek Jammu Kashmir (6) Ameer Jamat Ahle Hadees Azad Kashmir (7) President Jamat Ittehad-i-Ulema Jammu Kashmir (8) President Jamiat-ul Mashaikh Jammu Kashmir (9) Ameer Jamat-ul Ulama Islam Jammu Kashmir (10) President Jammu Kashmir Action Committee, Karachi (11) Chairman Jammu Kashmir Freedom Movement (12) Chairman Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (Amanullah) (13) Chairman Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (Rauf Kashmiri) (14) President Jammu Kashmir Liberation League (15) President Jammu Kashmir National Liberation Front (16) President Jammu Kashmir National Liberation Party (17) President Jammu Kashmir Plebiscite Front (18) President Kashmir Action Committee Pakistan, Lahore (19) President Kashmir Freedom Movement (20) President Kashmir Liberation Movement (21) Convenor Pakistan Muslim League Azad Kashmir (22) President Pakistan

Muslim League Jammu Kashmir (23) President Pakistan Peoples Party Azad Kashmir (24) President Pak Kashmir Human Rights Organisation (25) Patron Qaumi Tahreek Azad Kashmir (26) President Tanzeem-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat Gilgit (27) Convenor Tahreek Islami Jammu and Kashmir (28) President Tahreeke Nifaz-i-Fiqha Jaffriya Azad Kashmir (29) Jammu Kashmir Human Rights Forum (by special invitation).

(As we see the President and Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir, whoever they may be, are treated as "parties" in addition to their political parties.)[117]

INFIGHTING OF AZAD KASHMIR PARTIES

Infighting of political parties is not uncommon in the whole world and some leaders even in Pakistan accuse each other of betraying the interests of the nation, playing to the tune of the enemies of the country, but in Azad Kashmir the mutual accusations have crossed limits of wildness and irresponsibility. There is no leader of Azad Kashmir who has not been accused by others in the field, of being an agent of India, Russia or America at one time or the other. The accusations are not only personal but also said to be ideological. For instance, when Mr. K.H. Khurshid as President of Azad Kashmir raised the slogan of recognition of the Azad Kashmir Government as independent and authoritative government of the whole State, a campaign was started against him, and it was said that he had written a letter as the Secretary of Quaid-i-Azam, in 1947, to one of the Jammu Kashmir leaders advising him to work for independent Kashmir. Sardar Qayyum has been accused to receiving Indian agents in Muzaffarabad when he was President of Azad Kashmir. There have been allegations of serious nature even against Sardar Ibrahim, the founder-President and the present President of Azad Kashmir. Thus, there is no end, no limit to the mutual accusations and the strangest part of the story is that they often join hands and forge united fronts with each other. When one of the "prime ministers was removed from his post eight years ago, he alleged that America was after him and after Saddam of Iraq, that USA had ousted him but had failed to oust Saddam. The focus of their activities is the seat of the Government of Azad Kashmir, which is a small government, holding control of less than 1/18 (one eighteenth) of the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. These differences, and accusations and counter-accusations of the Azad Kashmiri leaders have done the greatest damage to the freedom movement of Jammu and Kashmir. In these days of electronic and print media, it does not take more than some hours for all this news of Azad Kashmir to reach Occupied Kashmir. The Indian publicists copy and relay all this news for the consumption of the people of Kashmir who are giving a strong fight to the Indian rulers. The purpose of the Indians is to create despondency amongst Kashmiris and demoralise them.

We have already pointed out that all the parties of Azad Kashmir and the refugees of Jammu and Kashmir on this side of the Line of Actual Control are united in shape of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Alliance as all of them are registered members of this Alliance. If there are any differences and misunderstandings between them, the Alliance is the best platform to sort them out, and remove and explain them to each other. But that is not done and every day the columns of newspapers are full of strange and wild accusations of the Azad Kashmir leaders against each other.

On 26th March, 1998, for instance, an All Parties Conference on the issue of representation of Gilgit and Baltistan was called by the Amir of the Jamaat Islami of Azad Kashmir in a Hotel in Islamabad. Top leaders of the two parties which have represented in the Azad Jammu Kashmir Assembly chose not to attend the meeting.

Instead, they sent their deputies or junior representatives. The meeting was not open to the press, but news cannot be suppressed, more so when even those individuals, who were not invited, attended the meeting on one pretext or the other. One of the hosts told this writer that one of the guests who was duly invited, had directed his employee to be present so that when he (the leader) delivered his written speech, the employee should ditribute the copies to the other participants. The hosts of the meeting could not dare to ask the employee to go out as it would have displeased the great leader who was going to make a written speech, and wanted it to be distributed by his driver.

Next day, the local press of Islamabad and Rawalpindi was full of screaming headlines that the participants of the All Parties Kashmir Conference had tried to throw glasses on each other, come to blows and hurled abuses and wild charges on each other. Members from Gilgit called the members of other parts of the state slaves and agents and the others said the same to them. The meeting did more harm than good to the Kashmir cause as the news about the infighting that appeared in the press, has not been clarified or explained away by anybody. These leaders are owe an explanation to the afficted Kashmiris, who are engaged in a life and death strange. The Quranic question for such leaders is:

"Alaisa minkum rajulur Rasheed"

(Is there not a gentle person amongst you?)

COMPARATIVE AUTONOMY OF AZAD AND OCCUPIED KASHMIR

Pakistan's stand on the issue of Kashmir is crystal clear. She has not annexed an inch of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, no even Azad Kashmir nor the local states of the Gilgit Baltistan area, some of whose rulers had duly acceded to Pakistan in the year 1947, before the appointed date. All Constitutions of Pakistan have had the article which explicitly says that the terms and conditions of accession of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan will be decided by the people of the state themselves when they accede to Pakistan by a plebiscite under the UN.

On the other hand, the stand of India has from the very beginning been hegemonistic and imperialistic. She forcibly occupied major part of the State on the flimsy invitation of the Maharaja, whose right to rule had been challenged by Sheikh Abdullah himself, who launched the *Quit Kashmir* movement against the Dogra raj in May 1946. The Act of the British Parliament, which brought Bharat and Pakistan into existence as free nations clearly said that the treaties of the native rulers with British Government would come to an end on 14th August 1947 and the sovereignty of the native states would revert to the rulers. Gulab Singh, the ancestor of Hari Singh, had got Kashmir as a result of the Treaty of Amritsar, dated 16th March, 1846. Before that the British were the masters of Kashmir in view of the Treaty of Lahore concluded between them and the Sikhs a week earlier. If the Treaty of Amritsar dated 16th March, 1846 lapsed, the sovereignty over Kashmir would have passed on to the Punjab Government of the British, or its successors in interest, the Government of Punjab province of Pakistan. India had no right to invade Kashmir. In the non-papers which are in circulation about the proposed solution of the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, one of the points is that in the interim period, the Pakistan controlled parts of Kashmir and the Indian controlled parts of Kashmir should have maximum autonomy from the controlling countries, namely Pakistan and India, so that their relations with the controlling country become confederal . . . As things stand, Azad Kashmir is in a better position than Occupied Kashmir. As has been pointed out above, Pakistan does not claim a single inch of Jammu and Kashmir, or the Northern Areas as her part. The territories of Pakistan are clearly defined in the Constitution of Pakistan and they are the four provinces, the tribal areas and the federal area of Islamabad. What is more, there are three judgements of the Lahore High Court and one of the Peshawar High Court clearly laying down that Northern Areas or Azad Kashmir are not parts of Pakitan. Pakistan sticks to this above the board policy.

There is no doubt that, in the early years, the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs tried to fasten and strengthen its grip on the administration of Azad Kashmir. There were the Rules of Business of Azad Kashmir, which gave dictatorial powers to the institution of Supreme Head of Azad Kashmir, after that there were other Rules of business framed by the Ministry with the help of handpicked presidents of Azad Kashmir. Azad Kashmir at that time looked like a colony. This system was resisted by the people of Azad Kashmir and by the refugees of the State of Jammu and Kashmir living in Pakistan. In 1954, in the annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, then headed by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan (now President of Azad Kashmir) at Kotli, Azad Kashmir, formally moved a resolution (I was then the General Secretary of the Muslim Conference) for the establishment of a full-fledged legislative assembly in Azad Kashmir because upto that time the Sarkari Muslim Conference had been denouncing any sort of elections in Azad Kashmir. In September 1955, the All Parties Confernence on Kashmir convened by Prime Minister Chaudhry Muhammad Ali at Karachi, also gave its support to the demand of formation of an elected legislature in Azad Kashmir. In 1960-61, elections to basic democracies were held and these were followed by the Presidential election Act, according to which an electoral college of 2400 members came into existence which elected a 12 member State Council as well as the President of Azad Government of the Jammu and Kashmir State. This was something better than nothing. Azad Kashmir got its first elected set up after fourteen years. The demand for a legislature continued to be made by the people and it was during the Yahya regime that Azad Kashmir Legislative Assembly was formed. There was further improvement in 1974, when the present consitution was framed for Azad Kashmir by the Government of Pakistan and adopted by the Azad Kashmir Assembly.

As regards autonomy, the Azad Kashmir government is fully autonomous and its relationship with Pakistan is confederal already. The Azad Kashmir regime has its own President, Prime Minister, High Court and the Supreme Court. No appeals against the judgements of the Supreme Court lie in any court of Pakistan. Azad Kashmir has its own Election Commission which is independent and not answerable to the Election Commission of Pakistan. It has its own Public Services Commission.

There is an impression in some international circles that Azad Kashmir Government is a puppet regime. As I have said in the earlier lines, in the early years, there was great domination of the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, which was housed in a Shahzada Kothi of Rawalpindi and there is doubt that the Shahzadas (princes) of the Kothi treated the Azad Kashmiris as their tenents. But the position is quite contrary to that now. Since prejudices die hard, we now and then read in the press that Azad Kashmir is ruled by the Joint Secretary of the Kashmir Affairs Ministry. This used to be true, say, 36 years ago, when it had been agreed between the leaders of the Sarkari Muslim Conference and the Kashmir Affairs Ministry that the Muslim Conference would be one which is recognised by the Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. That position is no more there and the Joint Secretary and even the Ministry Kashmir Affairs has become somewhat irrevalant. The Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council is of course there but it has clearly defined functions under the Azad Kashmir Constitution.[119]

As regards the Occupied part of the State, its relations with the Indian Union started with the forced accession of Kashmir. The Maharaja was coaxed and cajoled to jon India and when he did, even at that time, in the enclosing letter with the instrument of accession, in his letter to the Governor General of India, the Maharaja wrote that the present (1847) or any future constitution of India would not curtail his sovereignty. But that was not to be so. At first the Indian Government, which wanted its own stooge to rule Kashmir, trapped the son of the Maharaja and made him the Regent and Hari Singh was shown the way out. Then the Maharaja threatened to withdraw the accession to India. This is clear from one of his letters to Sardar Patel, then Indian Deputy Prime Minister. Sheikh Abdullah got the article 370 inserted in the Indian Constitution which laid down that the Indian Constitution would apply to Jammu and Kashmir only in those subjects which had been surrendered to India by the Maharaja. It was agreed that the State of Kashmir, unlike any other state of India, would have its own constitution also. Then there was the application of Constitution Order in 1950. In August 1952, there was an agreement between Kashmir and India, signed by the Prime Minister Sheikh Abdullah and Prime Minister Nehru, enabling Mirza Afzal Beg, Abdullah's right hand man, to say at the Srinagar airport that Kashmir's autonomy had been guaranteed and that Kashmir was now a State within the State.

But this autonomy was shortlived. Abdullah and his cabinet were dismissed under orders from Delhi by the "State President" Karan Singh and the socalled autonomy was shattered to pieces. After Abdullah's detention, the Kashmir Constitution was framed and adopted on 26th January, 1957. Then started the erosion of the autonomy, which has continued till date. The erosion started with the dismissal of Abdullah in 1953 and the following are the 'landmarks' of this process: I quote from the Monthly *Muslim India* Delhi, Feb. 97:

1954: Financial integration through operation of Customs, Central Excise, Civil Aviation, Post and Telegraph.

1958: All India Services of IAS and IPS—introduced. Also functions of Comptroller and Auditor General extended to Jammu and Kashmir.

1959: Census operations to be done under Centre. This was done in 1961.

1960: a) The Supreme Court of India given the powers to give special leave to appeal from the decisions of the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir.

b) Elections to either House and the resolutions of doubts and disputes relating to them placed under the supervision of the Election Commission of India.

1961: Extension of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951 to Jammu & Kashmir.

1964: Articles 356 and 357 of the Indian Constitution relating to dismissal of State dismissal of state governments and introduction of the President's or Governor's rule extended to the State.

1965: Legislations regarding welfare of Labour, trade unions, social security etc., extended to Jammu & Kashmir. Also Central Labour laws.

1966: Direct election to Lok Sabha introduced.

1968: Appeals to the Supreme Court of India from the decisions of the High Court in election petitions.

1969: Unlawful activities (Prevention) Act 1967, extended to Jammu & Kashmir.

1971: Article 226 relating to the powers of the High Courts to issue writ made applicable to Jammu & Kashmir.

1972: Entry 60 of the Union list relating to sanctioning of cinematograph films applied.

1986: Article 249 of the Constitution applied (Muslim

India quoting from the *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi).

In early sixties, a delegation of Hindus from Jammu, led by Prem Nath Dogra, met the Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru and asked him why he was not doing away with the article 370 of the Indian Constitution which made Kashmir semi-independence. He assured them that with due passage of time, the article would erode and would remain only in name on the Statute book.

It is fact that the article has eroded by now. All the changes made by the Indian rulers with the connivance of their stooges in Jammu and Kashmir, were unilateral. The article 370 itself says that any change in the Constitutional status quo must have the concurrence and the agreement of the Constituent Assembly of the State. Now, the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir ceased to exist from 26th January, 1957, when it passed the Kashmir Constitution. That was its 'swan song'. If any change in the relationship between India and Kashmir was contemplated, the Constituent Assembly was to be brought into existence and convened to deliberate on the changes that are contemplated. But that has not been done, and India, being the bigger part, has bull-dozed, decisions and actions to reduce the Kashmir state to a puppet.

This unilateral action and the Constitutinal aggression of India on Kashmir has been challenged by the former Chief Justice of Jammu and Kashmir, Bahauddin Farooquee in the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir and it is pending a decision. The whole process of erosion effected in the Constitutional position of Kashmir and India is uktra vires of the Indian Constitution itself.

From the 19th of January 1990, Kashmir came first under Governor's rule and then under Indian President's rule, which continued till September 1996.

During this period, India played havoc with the autonomy of Kashmir. And when the socalled civilian government of Kashmir, headed by the playboy Farooq Abdullah, came into existence, two serving generals of the Indian army were made his military advisors. Defence and army are central subjects in India and Occupied regime as such has nothing to do with the army. Why then should the Chief Minister have two generals as his advisors? Obviously, Kashmir is under undeclared martial law and the generals operate in the name of and under the cover of the civilian chief minister. The autonomy and independence of Kashmir has become a thing of the dead old past.

PRO-INDIA POLITICAL PARTIES IN KASHMIR

We have seen that the first pro-India, or pro-Hindu party amongst the Muslims of Kashmir was formed in the shape of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference not by founding a new party but by converting the Muslim Conference into the National Conference. Sheikh Abdullah came into prominence as a Muslim leader, with Islamic views, in the year 1931, but slowly and surely he started veering towards the Indian National Congress. For such thinking, he was influenced by Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, a leader of the Kashmiri Pandit community, who made him believe that in a native state, whose ruler was a non-Muslim, the goal of responsible government would be easier to achieve if the party spearheading the movement was "non-communal" like the Indian National Congress. Sheikh Abdullah also came under the influence of the Communist leaders and thinkers who used to visit Kashmir now and then, to further their own agenda in the State, which had a strategic position as it was placed between three great countries like India (undivided) China, USSR.

The Indian National Congress did not foster any branch in Kashmir before 1947. In fact, one of the

National Conference enthusiasts, Umar Butt, did form the Jammu and Kashmir State Congress, but the Indian National Congress did not encourage him, saying that the National Conference was propounding the same philosophy in Kashmir as the Congress and, therefore, there was no need of any other party in Kashmir in place of the National Conference.

It is to be noted that when the struggle for democratic rule and responsible government was started in Kashmir in the early thirties in the name of Islam and when the Muslim Conference was formed, the Congress leaders never supported the struggle of the Kashmiris. In fact, their active sympathies were with the Maharaja, who was a Hindu. The entire Hindu press of Lahore and entire British India supported the Maharaja and opposed the Kashmir movement. When the National Conference was formed on the ashes of the Muslim Conference, the Hindu leaders and writers started paying lip service to the Kashmir National Conference. But when Abdullah started his "Quit Kashmir" Movement, apparently against the Hindu Maharaja at the behest of the Communists, the "Nationalist" Hindu press of India turned against him.

Before partition of the South Asian sub-continent, the National Conference was treated as many other pro-Congress and pro-Hindu parties by the Muslims of Kashmir. And, when the Muslim League emerged as the real representative party of the Muslims of the sub-continent as a result of the central and provincial assemblies elections of 1945—46, the National Conference lost all the influence, if it had any, in the State. In 1946, Abdullah raised the slogan of Quit Kashmir only to regain his lost popularity, but when the elections to the State Assembly were held, in January 1947, his party did not take part in them as they were sure of defeat.

When Abdullah was released by the Dogra ruler on the recommendation of the Congress leaders to serve as a convenient stooge in opposing accession of Kashmir to Pakistan, he was a mere individual and his political status was no different from the lame ducks of Muslim leadership in the sub-continent who had been disgraced in the elections because of their opposition to the Pakistan slogan. His support to the accession of Kashmir to India had no practical value but it provided the Indian leaders a stick to beat Pakistan and the people of Kashmir with.

Abdullah assumed and enjoyed power without any democratic sanction at the will and wish of the Maharaja, who was constrained to own him up when his own throne was in the throes of the political earthquake which shook the Dogra raj in October 1947. Then, he and his friend Afzal Beg formed the Plebiscite Front for Jammu and Kashmir whose manifesto was to decide the issue of accession of Jammu and Kashmir in a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations. Abdullah continued to uphold the plebiscite slogan till 1947, when he rejoined the Indian rulers on their terms, in order to resume power for the benefit of himself, his family and the party.

During the period of his estrangement with the Indian leaders, Abdullah opposed the formation of Indian parties in Kashmir, and when, in the mid-sixties, the group of National Conference belonging to G.M. Sadiq, the Chief Minister, formed the branch of the Indian National Congress with the blessings of Indira Gandhi, Abdullah issued a *fatwa* or a religious decree, like any Mufti of the Muslim community, saying that even funeral prayers of the Congressite Muslims should not be said by the Muslims of Kashmir. Syed Mir Qasim, another pro-India Chief Minister who supported the formation of the Congress, says in his autobiography *Dastan-i-Hayat* that when one of his relations died in Srinagar, during those days, they had to face considerable difficulty in burying him in the Muslim graveyard. The Muslims of the locality did not even allow them to use the communal coffin (*Taboot*) which is kept in the *Masjid* at the time of taking the dead to the graveyard.

But, when it suited Abdullah, he got himself elected with the votes of the Congress-I members of the State assembly as the "leader of the house" so that he could become the Chief Minister of Kashmir through the backdoor. This happened in February 1975.

Thus, the Congress came into being in Kashmir when Abdullah was against India and supported the slogan of a plebiscite for twenty two years, from 1953 to 1975. This party continued to be manipulated into power by rigging of the elections. Majority of the people remained aloof from the elections and most of the seats used to be captured by the Congress by fake elections. When Abdullah was to be brought to power it was the Assembly group of the Congress-I which obliged him by voting him as the "leaders of the house" of which he was not even a member.

When the Janata Party (not BJP) came into power in 1977, it tried to set up its unit in Kashmir and take part in the elections, but in the local assembly elections, Abdullah carried the day because the government of Morarji Desai did not like to interfere in the elections. An amount of Rupees eight lakh was, however, given to the leaders of Kashmir who joined the formation of the Janata Party Unit in the State, but in face of a local leader like Abdullah, the Janata Party did not get substantial number of seats in the State elections. And Abdullah became the Chief Minister again.

The Congress-I was, however, thrown into the background as long as non-Congress Government remained in power in Delhi. When it resumed power, the Congress tried to set its house in order in the Occupied State. But there was a fight with the party of Farooq Abdullah, who had incurred the displeasure of Indira

Gandhi for repassing the Refugees Resettlement Bill in the State Assembly. Indira saw to it that Farooq was dismissed from Chief Ministership and his brother in law, G.M. Shah, was brought to power with the help of the Congress group in the State assembly. This continued as long as Indira was alive. During her lifetime, Begum Abdullah, Farooq's mother, tried to bring a rapproachment between Farooq and Indira but failed. But, when Indira was killed and her son, Rajiv became Prime Minister, Farooq was the first to hail him and assure him of his support. This immensely pleased Rajiv, who made Abdullah Chief Minister again, without there being any State assembly in Kashmir. Then an alliance was formed by the Congress of Rajiv and the National Conference of Farooq Abdullah to "sweep" the elections to the State assembly on 23rd March, 1987 by manipulation. This was the election in which even the Muslim United Front participated but the elections were rigged and out of forty three candidates of the MUF, majority were not allowed to succeed.

During these days, the Janata Party, being the Party of Morarji Desai, remained in Kashmir only in name. There was once a news item in the press that the monthly rent of the office premises of the Janata Party was also not being paid.

Units of pro-India parties or Indian parties have been existing in the non-Muslim dominated areas of Jammu province, but in Kashmir the Muslim population always hated the Indian parties. That is why, even the Congress had to support a regional party, the National Conference, in Kashmir when it suited its interests.

The BJP has spread its tentacles in the Hindu-majority areas of Jammu province and in the State Assembly elections of 1996, the party won half a dozen seats because of Hindu votes. In the recent Lok Sabha elections held early in 1998, two seats of the Lok Sabha from the Hindu majority areas, were bagged by the BJP. But in Kashmir, this party met a crushing defeat in the elections because of its very name and its bad intentions about the future of Kashmir. Only Hindus of Jammu province support this party's objective about Kashmir, which is abolishing of the article 370 of the Indian Constitution which ensures some autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir and the annexation of Azad Kashmir with India.

In the elections of State Assembly in 1996, the Congress-I won some seats when majority of the people boycotted the polls. In the Lok Sabha polls, early this year, Mufti Muhammad Sayeed, former Minister Home of India, won his seat in Southern Kashmir. Like other Congress leaders, he also believes in the Congress ideology that Kashmir is the part of India, but to win some votes of the Muslims, he played to the gallery by denouncing the atrocities of the Indian troops on the people of Kashmir during the past years. His daughter, Mahbooba Mufti, who is a member of the State Legislative Assembly, also adopted the same stance and made forceful speeches against the corrupt administration of Farooq Abdullah and the atrocities of the Indian troops in Kashmir. This, naturally has created a soft corner for the father and the daughter in the hearts of the afflicted Kashmiris. On the day, when A.B. Vajpayee was to get vote of confidence, Mufti Sayeed made a forceful speech in the Lok Sabha demanding that army action be stopped in Kashmir and the issue of Kashmir be settled by talks with the APHC leaders as well as with mujahideen. This upset the BJP members of the Lok Sabha who then and there condemned Mufti Sayeed and said that he was an agent of the Pakistani ISI. But his success in getting the seat for himself in the Lok Sabha should not mean that the Congress is a popular party in Southern Kashmir. Like a clever politician, he enlisted the sympathies of a section of the voters and that is all. No Indian party has any future in Kashmir, the Muslim majority part of the State, because of the simple fact that Kashmiris do not consider themselves as Indians. Even the National Conference, which is a regional party, has lost all popularity, if it ever had any, for its alignment with the Indian parties. At present, Farooq Abdullah is keen to maintain himself in power and, if possible, to make his son, Umar, a Minister of State in the Central Government of India. If interference of the troops in the elections ceases, and elections are held under impartial administration, the securities of all the Indian and pro-India parties candidates in Kashmir would be confiscated. The Indian leaders, their henchmen and supporters in Kashmir know that when Farooq Abdullah was out of power for six years, he did not remain in Kashmir, he did not stay even in India and went to London to live with his English wife and children in a far away suburb of the British metropolis. If he is deprived of Chief Ministership again, he would again escape to London, because he does not consider himself safe in Kashmir, and even in India, where some Kashmiris live in various cities.

The future of Indian Parties and pro-India regional parties in Kashmir is bleak indeed. They are only postal addresses and no amount of Indian support can make them exist. They exist and thrive on the monetary and immortal (not moral) support of their Indian masters. Once that goes and Kashmir is demilitarised, they would run away from Kashmir even before the Indian troops leave.

WHAT ABOLITION OF ARTICLE 370 WOULD MEAN

The BJP, while contesting the recent elections, very clearly said in its election manifesto that on coming to power, it would end the special position of Kashmir by abolition of the article 370 of the Indian Constitution. But, since the BJP won only 178 of the 539 Lok Sabha seats, i.e., less than 1/3rd and had to get the support of as many as fourteen other parties to form the

Government, under their pressure, it abandoned the most contentious of its items, that of uniform civil code for all Indians, construction of the *Ram Mandir* in place of *Babari Masjid* and abolition of the article 370. But the BJP has not deleted it from its own manifesto. It has only not been included in the "National Agenda" framed by the fifteen parties of the coalition. This means that if and when BJP gets strength enough to rule India without the crutches of the other groups, it would not hesitate to abolish the article in question and make Kashmir a part of Bharat like the other states. This is because this party, which is the political form of the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sang*, the militant Hindu organisation which stands for complete revival of Hindu raj, says that the article 370, which was inserted in the Indian Constitution on the insistence of Sheikh Abdullah, contradicts the very principle of accession and gives a special status to Kashmir as against the other States of the Indian Union, it would encourage fissiparous and anti-Centre trends in India. Though, Prime Minister Vajpayee, in order to strengthen his hold on power, has said that he would "go slow" with article 370, the danagers involved in the proposal need to be examined.

Sheikh Abdullah, in his posthumously published autobiography *Aatish-i-Chinar*, says that it was with great reluctance that the Nehru Government had agreed to include article 370 in the Indian Constitution and Kashmir was given a special status. Abdullah had insisted on it because, says he, Kashmir had acceded to India as the only Muslim majority State, in very peculiar circumstances and thus guarantees, checks and balances were necessary. It is interesting to note that Maharaja Hari Singh, when he acceded to India in the last week of October 1947, had also said that his accession was limited to Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communication and that "the present Constitution or any future Constitution of India would not reduce my sovereignty".

Abdullah says that the Nehru regime had tried to avoid this special status, but on the advice of Sir Gopalaswami Ayyengar and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the proposition was accepted.

What is Article 370?

Article 370, whose full text, we are reproducing from the Indian Constitution, limits the powers of the Indian Parliament to legislate in Kashmir to the subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and communications, has been amended umpteen times by India, since the Indian Constitution was passed. Even now, when a bill is presented in the Parliament, it starts with the proviso. "When it becomes law, it will apply to the whole of India **except the State of Jammu and Kashmir"**. This is not the position *vis a vis* other parts of India, to whom the Indian Constitution applies in *toto*. Kashmir, in addition to the Indian Constitution, whose application to Kashmir is limited, has its own Constitution, which is called the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. No other state in the Indian Union has its own Constitution. Indian Constitution states in the article 370 that article 238 shall not apply to Jammu Kashmir. It also says that the article 370 is a temporary provision. At the fag end is the clause (3) which says: "Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may, by public notification, declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may specify:

"Provided that the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification."

After passage of the Indian Constitution, a Nehru—Abdullah Agreement between the governments of India and Kashmir took place in New Delhi in July

1952 and it further explained the Centre State relations. When Abdullah went back to Srinagar, his right hand man, Afzal Beg, told press reports at Srinagar airport, that Kashmir is autonomous and independent. It is a "State within a state".

And that of course was the position, technically speaking. The head of the State was called *Sadr-i-Riyasat* or State President and the head of the Government was *Wazir-i-Azam* or Prime Minister. Both the head of the State and the head of the government were supposed to be elected by the legislature.

That was the technical side. The practical side was the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah under orders of the *Sadr-i-Riyasat* on 8th August, 1953, when he incurred the displeasure of Nehru. Next day, he was arrested along with his colleagues. He demanded that he be given a chance to prove his majority in the legislature, but his request was turned down. He remained in jail for ten years and was out of it for a few months in between, only to be re-arrested. After his detention, the autonomy, whatever it was worth, was curtailed by and by. The article 370 was an eyesore even for Nehru. Jagmohan, the ideologue of the BJP, twice Governor of Kashmir, writes in his book that article 370 contains the germs of separation of Kashmir from India, and he is not wrong in saying so. We have seen the six points of Sheikh Mujib-ur Rehman of former East Pakistan, which culiminated in the independence of Bangladesh. Likewise, the article 370 is the internal contradiction of the accession, which can help in the separation of Kashmir from India.

The last sentence of the last clause of the article 370, says that "the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu & Kashmir shall be necessary before the President issues a notification to abolish" the article 370.

The Constituent Assembly of Kashmir is not any more in existence now. It sang its swan song when it passed the Kashmir Constitution in November 1956, and 'ratified' the accession of Kashmir to India on 26th January, 1957. After that, they have been having **legislative** and **not Constituent** or **Constitution making assembly** in Kashmir. Thus, whatever amendments have been made in the India Kashmir constitutinal relationship during the past forty five years by Indian Government with the help of stooges in Kashmir, are *ultra vires* of the Indian Constitution itself because the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir never recommended any such amendments and it could not recommend because it never existed after January 1957. If BJP or any other Government of India wants to amend or abolish the article 370 of Indian Constitution, the Constituent Assembly will have to make the recommendation and it cannot make any recommendation without being brought into existence.

It is clear that nobody in Kashmir, not even the National Conference of Farooq Abdullah would support the move of abolition or further amendment in the article 370. In fact, former Chief Justice of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Bahauddin Farooquee, has already filed more than one writ petitions in the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir, challenging the amendments that have been affected in the Kashmir—India relationship during the past forty five years, starting from the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah in August 1953. The High Court, for political reason, is delaying the judgement in the case, but the petitions are there, though justice is both delayed and denied to the Kashmiris.

If BJP comes into power, it is likely to bulldoze the abolition of the article 370 by its majority in the Lok Sabha. We have seen that President's rule was imposed in Kashmir by the Janata Dal and then by the Congress-I regime in Kashmir for five long years, despite the defective legal position. Even now, they can do so unilaterally, on the basis of the power they enjoy in Delhi. But legally, it would be a legal and Constitutional aggression on Kashmir, because the last sentence of the article 370 says clearly that recommendation of the State Constituent Assembly is necessary.

If, God forbid, this extreme step is taken by the Government of India unilaterlly, without the concurrence of the Constituent Assembly, what would happen is as follows:

1. Seven lakh Indians in the garb of Kashmiri Pandits whose ancestors migrated from Kashmir to India during last six hundred years, would come back to Kashmir and settle there. Kashmir would be divided like Palestine, and a new Israel, in the shape of the Pandits' Kashmir or "Panun Kashmir" would come into existence. The Valley of Kashmir, which has had 95 per cent population as Muslims, would be divided into Hindu Kashmir and Muslim Kashmir.
2. The State subject Act, promulgated by the Maharaja in April 1927, barring purchase of immovable property in Jammu and Kashmir by outsiders (which includes Indians) would also be abolished and the flood gates of Indian billionaires and trillionaires coming to Kashmir and purchasing land and other immovable property in State, would be opened. Kashmir would be colonised by the Hindu magnates as America and Australia were colonised by the Western nations. Kashmiris would become Red Indians of America or aborginese of Australia. The Muslims of Kashmir would suffer the same fate as that of their Palestinian brothers. They would be forced by circumstances to seek refuge in Pakistan.

The question of all questions is, what is Pakistan and the Kashmiri leadership going to do to avoid such a catastrophe in Kashmir?

We are reproducing below the text of the article 370 of the Indian Constitution about the special position of Jammu and Kashmir, which the Vajpayee Government wants to undo, as soon as its hold on the

Indian Government is strong enough:

Article 370: (1) Notwithstanding anything in the Constitution:

(a) the provisions of the article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(b) the power of Parliament to make laws for the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be limited to:

(i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List, which in Consultation of the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Domonion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and

(ii) such other matters in the said Lists as, with the Concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

Explanation

For the purposes of this article, the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's proclamation dated the 5th day of March, 1948;

(c) the provisions of the article 1 and of this article shall apply in relation to that State.

(d) Such of the other provisions of that Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify;

Provided that no such order which relates to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of sub-clause (b) shall be issued except in Consultation with the Government of the State;

Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

(2) If the concurrence of the Government of that State referred to in paragraph (ii) of the sub-clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is concerned, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon.

(3) Nothwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may, by public notification, declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative with only such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may specify;

Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification.

Note: On 15th November 1952, Ministry of Law order explained that by Government of the State would mean the *Sadr-i-Riyasat* and from 10th April, 1965, the Governor, appointed by Indian President replaced the *Sadr-i-Riyasat*.

It is clear from the last clause of the article 370 that recommendation of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly is a must before the President amends or makes the article 370 in operative.

The fear of the abolition of this article has forced even Farooq Abdullah to say in an election meeting at Doda, according to the daily *Wadi Ki Awaz*, Srinagar, also quoted by KPI, that if BJP Government abolishes the article 370, the accession to India would come to an end and nothing could stop the people of Kashmir from joining Pakistan.

There is no doubt that this is a demagoguic speech meant to catch votes. Abolition of this article as well as that of the State subject Act of April 1927, would open the floodgates of influx of Indian Hindus into Kashmir. they would purchase land and immovable property and the Kashmiri Muslims would be shown the way out of Kashmir as the Palestinians were shown the way out of their homeland by the Jewish settlers who converted Palestine into Israel. Pakistan and Kashmiris have to guard against that.

INDIAN FORCES LANDED IN KASHMIR BEFORE "ACCESSION"

British Author exposes the Indian Fraud in October 1947.

Well-known British author-Alastair Lamb, in his latest book *Incomplete Partition — The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948* has proved to the hilt that no accession of Jammu and Kashmir took place on 26th October 1947, as is claimed by India and generally believed by all concerned, including Kashmiris and Pakistanis. He says that the accession, if at all, took place next day; after the Indian troops had landed in Kashmir at the Srinagar airfield.

The fradulent claim, that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir took place on 26th October, one day and night prior to October 1947, has been made by Mr. V.P. Menon, who was in these days the Secretary for the native states in the Indian Government. The claim of Mr. Menon is that he went to Jammu on 26th October 1947, and got the formal accession signed by the Maharaja, Sir Hari Singh, and brought it to New Delhi, where Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Indian Governor-General "accepted if formally and on next day, Indian troops started landing in Srinagar."

Alastair Lamb has argued that:

Mr. Menon did *not* go to Jammu on 26th October.

In fact, he had come to Delhi from Srinagar on that very day, that is, 26th October. But he was not carrying with him the deed of accession because he had no such mission while in Kashmir. The Maharaja had left Srinagar lock stock and barrel for his last journey to Jammu, his home-town. There is no doubt that Menon tried to go to Jammu on 26th evening, as he had been asked to go to Jammu, along with the Prime Minister of Kashmir, M.C. Mahajan, to get the accession deed signed by the Maharaja, but he had reached the airport in Delhi very late when the plane that was supposed to carry him and many other passengers to Jammu, had left for its destination before Menon reached the airport.

This has been confirmed by the then Deputy High Commissioner of UK for India, (later Sir) Alexander Symon, who wanted to meet Menon before the latter left for Jammu. Symon says when he reached the Willingdon (Safdar Jung) airport, he was told that Menon was to depart from Palam airport, where Symon reached but Jung was told that Menon had reached the airport too late and thus, Menon and Symon came back to New Delhi in their respective motor cars, arranging to meet at Menon's residence at 5 p.m. that afternoon. V.P. Menon, back in the capital, told Symon, that he would be now going to Jammu the following morning (27th October) and that is what he did.

Says Prof. Lamb: "At about 9 a.m. on 27th October, 1947, carried by some DC3 aircraft, (more probably nine, with the tenth being retained to take V.P. Menon and M.C. Mahajan to Jammu) men of the I Sikh battalion started landing at Srinagar airfield under the Command of Lt. Col. Devan Ranjit Rai (p. 160 of Lamb's book). The report appeared in the *London Times* the next day. (October 28, 1947).

Mr. Justice(r) Mehr Chand Mahajan, the Prime Minister of Kashmir at that time, who was to accompany Menon with him to Jammu, in his autobiography which appeared in 1963, indicates that the joint visit of himself and Menon to Jammu actually took place on 27th October. This is also confirmed by the book *Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. "The journal of Alexander Symon, preserved in the British Archives, also leaves us in no doubt that V.P. Menon remained in the Delhi region, throughout the afternoon and evening of October 26. P.S. Jha concedes this point when he refers to Menon's "abortive" trip to Jammu (page 72, line 18, *Kashmir 1947*).

Menon had been to Srinagar to investigate what was happening in Kashmir as a result of the revolt and the tribal attack on the Valley from the North West. Writes Lamb "V.P. Menon's own story is clear enough. Returning from Srinagar early on 26th October, V.P. Menon, as had been his mission to investigate, reported to the Defence Committee on the situation then obtaining in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

His view was that something should be done at once if the State were not to be lost to India by default. The Committee agreed with Mountbatten that before direct Indian action could take place an Instrument of Accession to India would have first to be signed by the Maharaja. V.P. Menon was instructed to go immediately to Jammu, whither it was known that the Maharaja was now proceeding to obtain such a document."

The Maharaja himself, instead of "defending" "the Kashmir Valley which he and his ancestors had misruled for one century, instead fled from Kashmir to his home town in Jammu, and when he reached Jammu, he said: "We have lost Kashmir". He then went to sleep, and before that he gave his revolver to his ADC, with the orders that he should be shot dead in his sleep if the Indian forces did not land to save him and his domain.

The author says that a conspiracy had been hatched to forge an Instrument of Accession because the Governor General, Lord Mountbatten was very particular about it. He could not despatch the Indian troops to Kashmir without a formal accession and a formal request from the Maharaja for military intervention by India. There is every possibility of the Instrument having been forged by Mr. Menon himself, if at all, it was presented to the Defence Committee before it could decide to send the army to Kashmir.

The author says that a photostat of the Instrument of Accession was never published by the Government of India, although, the best time to publish it would have been March 1948, when the Indian Government published its White Paper on Kashmir.

Later on, when inquiries and research were made about the present position of the Instrument of Accession, it was reported lost. It was also hinted that "Pakistan may have stolen it."

The learned author writes: "V.P. Menon might conceiveably, in the interests of the governments' harmony have been party to a charade in which he pretended to go to Jammu, to secure an Instrument of Accession, which was already extant. It may be still following the line of argument that V.P. Menon originally had no intention of actually going to Jammu. The unfortunate intervention of Alexander Symon (asking to see him at the very moment **when he was supposed to be on his travels, and then offering to see him at one of the Delhi airports**) may well have started a chain of circumstances which obliged Menon to really try to go to Jammu or at least go publicly through the motions of trying. "Without Symon's importunity, V.P. Menon might not have bothered to leave the confines of his Delhi residence."

It is more likely that Menon wanted to give the impression to Alexander Symon and others that he was really going to Jammu on an errand. He rushed to the Safdar Jung airport, but was told there that Menon was to go *via* Palam airport. And when Symon met Menon there, he was told that Menon was late and could not go and that now he would go to Jammu the next morning.

Such tricks and slips of hide and seek, are possible in the land of Mahatma Gandhi, the saint of the Hindus, who was called "the greatest imposter of the 20th century", by British author Beverly Nichols, as far back as 1946, in his book *Verdict on India.*

The author has discussed all possible and desirable solutions to the thorny issue of Kashmir, which has obviously been created by India. He has discussed the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, the UN Commission for India and Pakistan's two resolutions, envisaging an over-all plebiscite to decide the issue of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan or India. He has also discussed independent Kashmir. At the conclusion of the discussion, he has suggested that non-Muslim majority areas of Jammu should go to India and Muslim areas which are presently under the control of Pakistan, should go to Pakistan and the rest of the State, including the Valley and adjoining Muslims majority areas of Jammu and Kargil, may be kept autonomous with Pakistan and India guaranteeing its autonomy. Like most other writers from the West, he has tried to explain that there are Shias and Ismailis in Gilgit and Baltistan, who may not like to remain in Kashmir. Such sort of thinking on behalf of enlightened writers like him is very unfortunate. He does not seem to have noticed the emergence of the All Parties Hurriat Conference of Occupied Kashmir, which has knit together all sects and groups of Kashmir, including some non-Muslims, into one, all fighting for the right of self-determination.

Anyhow, this book throws a flood of light on the genesis of the Kashmir struggle. Indians would be well-advised to go through this book so that they come to know what the founding fathers of their homeland did in order to weaken Pakistan by annexing Kashmir with India in a fraudulent manner. Western writers who do little to deliver the Kashmiris from the clutches of India, will also find in this book a beacon of light, whose rays can reveal India to them in her true colours. This book may also help those who matter in world politics to come to the right decision about Kashmir and it may ultimately hasten the exit of India from Kashmir.

FAROOQ MAKING A FOOL OF HIMSELF

Former house surgeon Farooq Abdullah, whose only qualification for becoming the Chief Minister of Kashmir in September 1982, when his father passed away, was that he was the son of the Sheikh. Otherwise, there were more qualified and able persons in the National Conference, but they were not kinsmen of the Sheikh. Mirza Afzal Beg parted ways with the Sheikh when he had fears that he would nominate G.M. Shah, Abdullah's son-in-law, as his successor, and formed his own party by the name of Inquilabi Natinal Conference. But to and behold, Mirza Beg, who had thought that Abdullah would die after him, and pass on the mantle of leadership of Kashmir National Conference to his son-in-law, died before Abdullah died. And since blood is thicker than water, the Sheikh nominted his own dear son, Farooq as his successors and made him party president and also a minister in the cabinet, during his own life. Thus, the son was preferred to the son-in-law, which grievance, G.M. Shah avenged upon by becoming Chief Minister with the help of Indira Congress in 1984, in place of Farooq.

The history of the dismissal of the legislative assembly of Farooq Abdullah in January 1990, is well known. After Governor's rule, there was direct rule of the Indian President, the *Rashtrapati*, for full five years. Farooq left for India and considering himself unsave even there, went to London and lived with his British wife and children in a remote suburb of the metropolis. He seldom came to any functions. The Indian intelligence on one occasion organised a conference on the Northern Areas of Gilgit and Baltistan, which was planned to be inaugurated by Farooq Abdullah. But those Kashmiris who attended the conference, raised hue and cry and demonstrated in a manner that neither Farooq could inaugurate the function nor could the function be held. The whole thing ended in a fisaco, much to the disappointment of the Indian agents, who had sponsored it.

The case of restoration of normal local rule was discussed by Farooq Abdullah with various representatives of the Government of Indians during five years of the President's rule in Kashmir. Farooq used to put three conditions to them. One, that the autonomy which Kashmir enjoyed in 1953, when the senior Sheikh was dismissed and imprisoned, should be restored. Two, that he (Farooq) should be given powers and authority to raise a special police force of 30,000 youths from amongst Kashmiris and three, that lot of Indian money should be earmarked for the development of Indian held Kashmir, industrially and politically.

None of these conditions was fullfilled and the Lok Sabha elections were held in May last year, in which Farooq's party did not participate. Then, the state legislature elections were to be held and Farooq said that autonomy be announced before the elections, but the Governor, Gen. Krishna Rao stuck to his guns, saying "elections first and autonomy afterwards". That is what happened. Farooq participated in the elections without any autonomy. Two autonomy Committees were formed, with Karan Singh as the head of one of them. Karan resigned from the Chairmanship and a relative of Farooq was appointed Chairman. Farooq has been in power for sixteen months now but autonomy is a distant dream.

There is considerable evidence to prove that Farooq owed his present power to the support of the Americans. The then American Ambassador in India, Frank Wisner, was keen that Farooq and even the APHC should take part in the elections. The APHC outright rejected the offer, but Farooq Abdullah agreed and the Indian Government also took the decision that Farooq should be groomed the Chief Minister. When elections took place, Farooq became the Chief Minister and was also congratulated by the then Assistant Secretary of State of the USA for South Asian Affairs, as if something had been achieved.

The idea of autonomy, however, is lurking very much in the head of Farooq even now. Just three months ago, he proposed that Indian army would be withdrawn from five districts of the Valley of Kashmir and replaced by the local police. Then, after a week or so, he modified his proposal and named two districts of the Valley wherefrom the Indian army was to be withdrawn. But the Commanding Brigadier of the Indian army snubbed him publicly and said that Farooq was nobody to decide the withdrawal of the Army and asked him not to poke his nose into matters of defence.

Very recently, it was reported from Delhi that Farooq had developed serious differences with Gujral and he wanted that most of the army personnel from Kashmir should be withdrawn and replaced by Kashmir Police. It was said in the report that Gujral had not agreed to his suggestion and the meeting had ended in a fiasco. Thus, what he tried at the local level, was also tried by him with the Indian premier, who refused to accommodate him.

It appears that the suggestion of "Kashmir police in place of Army" is the advice of the Americans who contributed a lot in bringing Farooq into power. Thus, we read in the seventy two page report of America based Kashmir Study Group that one of the twelve suggestions of this Group also is that Indian army should be withdrawn from Kashmir and replaced by the local police. Farooq had been telling the few mujahideen who had surrendered to him and to the Governor and the Indian military, that he would employ them all in the Kashmir militia which he was going to raise.

The Indian rulers have their own fears about the national militia. Before the Maharaja acceded to India under duress and pressure in 1847, the State had its own army, whose strength, under the orders of the Defence secretariat of United British India, could not be more than 11000. Muslims were hardly two thousand in the army. And when the time came to decide, they revolted against the State and helped in the formation of the Azad Kashmir Army and the Azad Kashmir Government. With a "Kashmir Militia" of about thirty thousand Kashmiris, which Farooq Abdullah wants to raise, Indians fear that at some time or the other, this militia may be used in the war against the Indians as the Muslim personnel of the Dogra Army rose against the Maharaja in revolt in October 1947. Who knows, say the Indians, history may repeal itself. Even Sheikh Abdullah, who had the support of Pakistan with him for two decades (from August 53 to mid seventies) had taken up cudgels against India, formed the Plebiscite Front and brought the reputation of India to the lowest ebb. It is quite another thing that because of his old age and very personal considerations of enjoying power in the old age, he succumbed to India, the enslavers of his homeland.

Much depends about the shape of things which takes place in Kashmir after the result of the Indian elections. Even the much-awaited visit of President Bill Clinton to the sub-continent has been delayed by the Indian mid-term elections. Farooq, who wants to remain in power at any cost, has lost all love for the United Front, of which his party was (and still officially is) a component part, and has started wooing the anti-Muslim BJP. He went all the way from Kashmir to Maharashtra to participate in the birthday function of Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, the chief minister, and lost no time in speaking soft words in favour of the BJP. He also made friends with the BJP group in the Kashmir assembly and contradicted the allegations against BJP that it was a short-sighted and short-visioned party of Hindu fundamentalists. The same Farooq, who was at one time extoling the Congress of being the secular and broadminded party of India, is now all praise for the Bhartiya Janata Party, simply because he imagines that the party may come out victorious in the forthcoming Indian elections and he may have to establish a good working relationship with it.

It has rightly been said that you can befool some people for all time. you can befool all people for some time. but you cannot befool all the people for all time. The ideas and ideals of time servers and opportunists, whose aim is only to retain political power at all costs, keep on changing with time. Thus, Farooq Abdullah is the chameleon of Kashmir politics. Farooq went to the extent of saying in the birthday anniversary of Murli Manohar Joshi, the BJP Chief Minister, that Lord Rama, son of Rajah Dasratha of Ayodhaya, was his god, too. A Hindu leader like Bal Thakeray (whose name is written as Thackery (though he is in no way related to the British writer, William Makepeace Thackeray) reminded Farooq that what he was saying was contrary to the teachings of the Quran. But Farooq brushed the idea aside by saying that if Muslims did not like his ideas in favour of Ram, he then did not want to be called a Muslim.

Sixty five years ago, it was Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, the editor of *Zamindar* Lahore, who wrote about Farooq's father:

Hamnashin mujh ko hawa Islam ki aayee nah raas
Pahlay Abdullah tha lekin ub bana hoon Ramdas
Chhore kar talwaar mein nay haath mein charkha liya
Jakay Wardha mein na maangoon kieun na Gandhi say kapaas?

(Translation: "My friend, the air of Islam has not proved compatible for me. Firstly I was called Abdullah (the servant of Allah) but now I have become Raamdaas, (the slave of Rama). I have given up the sword (an ornament of the Muslims) and I have instead taken up the spinning wheel (which was the sign of Gandhi, who wanted the people to spin as much thread as possible). Why should, therefore, I go to Wardha (the centre of Gandian activity, and seek some cotton from him for the purpose of spinning).

About the same Hindu leader, another poet of pre-partition days had said:

Girgit key tarah rang badalnay mein taaq hai
Jo ek pal mein laal hai to doosray mein zard

(He is an expert in changing his colour, like the chameleon. He is of red colour at one time, but the next moment, he is yellow.

In Kashmir, it is said about such people that they are the ones who put their two feet on two different boats and when, with their pressure, the boats go apart from each other, the person doing so drowns. That is what is going to happen to Farooq Abdullah, like the owner of the ass who wanted to please everybody, but ultimately ended up by falling into the river along with his ass.

SLOGAN OF SECULAR KASHMIR STRUGGLE

Mr. Kuldip Nayar, well-known writer, a frequent visitor to Pakistan, often writes on Indo—Pakistan relations and issues, including Kashmir. His writings are lifted by many Pakistani newspapers.

Mr. Nayar also tries to dabble in the internal and external politics of Kashmir, as a humanist and as an intellectual. But his latest article, on Kashmiri Pandits, exposes him as a typical Hindu, who wants that the struggle of the Kashmiri people under the leadership of the All Parties Hurriet Conference, should shun religion in politics, become a secular movement, abandon contacts with Muslim countries including Pakistan and work for "internal autonomy", of course within India. Then, he gives the tidings that the Kashmir movement would be "supported" by the secular elements of the Indian Society, including of course, Mr. Nayar himself.

One of his latest articles, which has, among others, appeared in the Muslim weekly *Radiance* of Delhi, starts with the killing of the twenty three Hindus in Wondhama, Ganderbal, Occupied Kashmir, which seems to be the handiwork of the *sarkari militants*, that is the militants who surrundered to the Indian army in the past and are now being used to damage the freedom movement of Kashmir. These militants, without any qualms of conscience, function as the Indian army and the intelligence agencies want them to function. It is pertinent to note that no freedom loving militant organisation has taken the responsibility of the massacre and in fact, the All Parties Hurriet Conference observed a strike against this killing in the whole of the State and condemned the killing as brutal, un-Islamic and inhuman. As Mr. Nayar himself has pointed out, Yaseen Malik and Shabbir Shah, two prominent leaders of the struggle went personally to the place of the killing and sympathised with the only survivial of the household. Nayar has also appreciated the fact that the funeral rites of those killed were performed by their Muslim neighbours in accordance with the Hindu customs, as there was nobody except the twelve year old boy surviver to cremate the killed.

Mr. Nayar wants that the Hurriet leaders, instead of Islamic politics, should adopt the ideology of *Kashmiriyat*. This new word has been coined by the agents of Indian "intellectuals" as an anecdote for Kashmir, a panacea for all their ills. They want the narrow Kashmiri nationalism to replace the present ideology of the Kashmiri freedom struggle. Nobody has ever cared to explain, what this term means in practical shape. But Mr. Nayar has himself let the cat out of the bag when he says that the Hurriet leaders should abandon their contacts with the Muslim world and he has also noted that they very often are seen at the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi. This also, he wants them to give up. Not only this, he wants them to replace "Islamic fundamentalism" by the Indian, in fact Hindu brand of secularism. And in return, they would get "autonomy within India" which was smashed by Pandit Nehru in August 1953, when he dismissed his friend and stooge Sheikh Abdullah from the Prime Ministership and got him imprisoned for ten long years for having advocated separation of Kashmir from India.

Autonomy with India is a mouse trap. Even Maharaja Hari Singh, who unwillingly acceded to India in October 1947, had written to Mountbatten that his accession would be limited to Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications and in other matters, he would continue to be the sovereign and the present (1947) or any future constitution could not affect the sovereignty of the State, adversely. But the poor Maharaja was deprived not only of the sovereignty but also of his rulership. His only son, Karan, was used against him and replaced him as Regent. The institution of Maharaja was done away with. This was the reward of India for him for having acceded to India. When they did this to Maharaja, and also treated most ignominously Sheikh Abdullah, who proudly called himself the chief architect of Kashmir's accession to India, what do the Muslims of Kashmir expect from the Mother India, except martyrdom of sixty thousand Kashmiris, rape and gang rape of thousands of Muslim women and deprivation of the entire community of Kashmiris of the human rights and the political right of self-determination.

Kashmiris sought the help of the Muslim world, including Pakistan, only when they were disillusioned with India and the latter wanted them to die unwept and unsung. Kashmir was under the iron curtain of India and, thanks to Indian and foreign human rights associations and individuals, the news of the atrocities on

Kashmiris started appearing in the press and on the electronic media.

Mr. Kuldip Nayar has himself admitted in his article that the transfer of the Pandits of Kashmir from Kashmir to Jammu was managed by Jagmohan, the Governor from India, officially and they were taken in officially provided transport to Jammu, so that the military action that was contemplated by the authorities should not target the Pandits. The other purpose of the officially arranged mass exodus of the non-Muslims from Kashmir to Jammu was to give the Kashmiri struggle a bad name by describing it as a movement against the Hindus and a movement of the Muslim fundamentalists.

Among the two dozen parties in the All Parties Hurriet Conference, only one of them can be charged of "fundamentalism". The trouble is that the Indians have coined this word for those Muslims who consider Islam as a complete code of life, which in fact it is, whether somebody likes it or not. I may point out here that when the APHC threw its door open for the non-Muslims of Kashmir, a journalist asked the views of Sayyed Ali Gilani of the Jamaat Islami about it. Gilani gave him a befitting reply when he said that the right of self-determination enunciated by the United Nations was not only for the Muslims, but also for the non-Muslims of Kashmir. Nowhere in the constitution and the manifesto of the APHC has it been claimed that the purpose is to set up an Islamic state, or that it is a Muslim organisation. But that does not satisfy the Hindu leaders and writers, the rulers and the pressmen, unless Muslims of Kashmir shout from house tops that they are not Muslims, politically. That is something impossible, because they are Muslims first and Muslims last.

The fact of the matter is that Mr. Nayar, over three years ago, tried to sow the seeds of disruption in the rank and file of the freedom movement of Kashmiris. He tried to woo Yaseen Malik in jail. It was given in the press that Yaseen was studying Gandhi and Nehru in jail. And when he went on a "fast unto death" for withdrawal of the Indian troops from Dargah Hazratbal, Kuldip came all the way from Delhi and persuaded Yaseen to break his fast by taking the glass of cold drink, which Yaseen did. Misgivings were spread against Yaseen but he became careful soon and by his actions, disproved all the misgivings and is, as before, a devoted member of the All Parties Hurriet Conference, though he sticks to his ideas about the independence of Kashmir.

As regards the Pandits, every Kashmiri Muslim has the greatest sympathy for them. It is sad that they are away from their homes, but the fact remains that they are not away from the State. Even those of them who are away in Delhi and elsewhere in India, can go to their homes. But what about the two million Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir who have been driven out of their homeland, Kashmir to Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, during the past fifty years? Has ever any Indian tried to help these Kashmiris, who, like the writer of these lines, are first class State subjects of Jammu and Kashmir? When Sheikh Abdullah passed a law that these Kashmiris who had gone to Pakistan under circumtances beyond their control, could come back, the whole of India was taken by a storm. Even the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army issued a statement against this action of Sheikh Abdullah and when Farooq Abdullah dittoed the action of his father in this regard, he was thrown out of power by Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. We want he Pandits to return to their homes with honour and ety. But the safe return, with the right of partaking in e plebiscite under UN, for the Muslims like me, has been guaranteed by the UN resolutions. Why is not India implementing them?

Charges of fundamentalism cannot dissuade Kashmiris from the path they have chosen. Victory is going to be theirs and defeat is written on the face of India, that is Bharat.

CHAPTER X

NEHRU'S AND GANDHI'S COMMITMENTS ON KASHMIR

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is primarily responsible for involving the two countries, India and Pakistan, in a permanent strife on the issue of Kashmir. This issue was created by Nehru not because he had any special attachment for Kashmir as the "land of his ancestors". His primary aim was to weaken Pakistan, which had come into existence as an independent State in 1947 against the wishes of the leaders of the Hindu Congress, misnamed the Indian National Congress.

If we accept the argument of Nehru that he annexed Kashmir and had a great attachment for Kashmir because it was the land of his ancestors, why on earth, we may ask, did his forces invade Junagarh, Hydrabad and Goa. He never claimed that these three states, which were forcibly annexed to India were in any way the lands of his ancestors. Junagarh had legally acceded to Pakistan. Hydrabad was an independent State and same was the case with Goa when the Indian forces took "police action" (an euphemism for a military invasion) against these three States. The point of Kashmir being the land of his ancestors was invented by Nehru and his henchmen only to camouflage the evil and imperialistic designs of India on Kashmir.

There are crores of other Kashmiris, Muslims as well as non-Muslims, in Pakistan and Bharat and even in Bangladesh whose ancestors left the Vale of Kashmir, several hundred years ago. They are Kashmiris by race but they are not the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir and never laid any claim to the citizenship of the State. Their love for the homeland of their ancestors is also very much there, but they never aspired to invade and grab Kashmir as their domain. They are welcome to the State as visitors and guests, but it is unimaginable that they should have any political claim to the State of Kashmir. The claim of Nehru and men of his ilk on Kashmir, because of the fact that their ancestors belonged to Kashmir once upon a time is, therefore, untenable. State subjects and citizens of Kashmir are only those who come under the definition of the State Subjects Act proclaimed by the ruler of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the year 1927, in the month of April. This position was accepted by all and sundry and also by the United Nations Security Council to whom the case of Kashmir was referred by the Indian Government of Pandit Nehru himself on 31st December 1947.

The greatest of the Indian leaders, greater even than Nehru, was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi called Mahatma (the great soul) by the Hindudom. In his honest moments, even he believed that Kashmir was one day going to become a Musalman State.

It was Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, a Kashmiri historian and journalist, who as far back as 1934, inquired from Gandhiji by letter what the Maharaja of Kashmir should do, when majority of his subjects were Muslims. In his reply dated 5th May, 1934, Gandhiji wrote back to Bazazji:

"Knowing that Kashmir is predominently Musalman, it is one day bound to become a Musalman State. Therefore, a Hindu prince can rule it only by not ruling i.e., doing as the Musalmans want him to do or by abdicating in their favour. This is the ideal. What is expedient is more than I can judge (From the *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* by Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, published by Kashmir Publishing Company, 122

Kotla Mubarikpur, New Delhi, India, page, 343).

On the day when India landed her forces in Kashmir in order to occupy it by force, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent the following telegram to the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Pakistan:

"I should like to make it clear that the question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to influence the State to accede to India. One view which we have repeatedly made public is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or state must be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people and we adhere to this view."

Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Governor General of India that is Bharat, replying to the letter of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, requesting him to accept accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India, on 27th October, 1947, wrote back:

"In consistence with their policy that the case of any state where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people."

The above views are not the views of Governor General of India alone, but also of Pandit Nehru, who was the first Prime Minister. Obviously, the Governor General Mountbatten could not have sent the reply without the approval of his Prime Minister.

It was on the next day, i.e., 28th October, 1947, that Pandit Nehru sent a telegram to his counterpart in Pakistan, the late Liaquat Ali Khan, saying.

"In regard to accession also, it has been made clear that this is subject to reference to the people of the State and their decision."

In a broadcast to his nation, Prime Minister

Jawaharlal Nehru said on 2nd November, 1947 on the All India Radio:

"We have decided that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. The pledge we have given (and the Maharaja has supported it) not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the UN. We want it to be a fair and a just reference to the people and we shall accept their verdict. I can imagine no fairer and juster offer.

"We are anxious not to finalise anything in a moment of crisis and without the fullest opportunity to be given to the people of Kashmir to have their way. It is for them to decide, ultimately.

"And let me make it clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a state to either dominion, the accession must be made by the people of the State. This is in accordance with this policy that we have added a proviso to the instrument of accession of Kashmir."

The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on November 4, 1947.

"I wish to draw your attention to the broadcast on Kashmir which I made last evening. I have stated our Government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave final decision to the people of Kashmir. I further stated that we have agreed on impartial international agency like the United Nations supervising any referendum.

"This principle we are prepared to apply to any state where there is a dispute about accession. If these principles are accepted by your Government there should be no difficulty in giving effect to them."

On 8th November, 1947, the following telegram was sent to the Prime Minister of Pakistan by the Indian Prime Minister. This was nearly two months before the Kashmir case was formally referred to the United Nations by the Indian Government of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Says the telegram:

"... Where the State has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is the same as the States rulers the question whether the State has finally to one or the other Dominion, should be ascertained by reference to the will of the people.

On 21st November 1947, Nehru wrote the following letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan:

"Kashmiris should decide the question of accession by plebiscite or referendum under international auspices, such as those of the United Nations."

On 25th November, 1947, Prime Minister Nehru of India made a statement on Kashmir in the Indian Constituent Assembly, in which he, *inter alia*, said: "In order to establish our bona fides, we have suggested that when the people are given the chance to decide their future, this should be done under the supervision of an impartial tribunal such as the United Nations Organisation. The issue in Kashmir is whether violence and naked force should decide the future or the will of the people."

The Indian Prime Minister sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 12th December,1947: "We have given further thought, in the light of our discussion in Lahore, to the question of inviting the UN to advise us in the matter. While we are prepared to invite the UNO observers to come here and advise us to the proposed plebiscite, it is not clear in what other capacity the UN help can be sought ... I confess, however, that I find myself unable to suggest anything beyond what I have offered already, namely to ask UNO to lend impartial observers to advise us regarding the plebiscite." (It had been suggested in the Lahore meeting by Pakistan that UN observers be invited to Kashmir).

Indian Government referred the issue to the UN Security Council on 31st December, 1947, and prolonged discussions on it took place. In between, Pandit Nehru addressed the Constituent Assembly of India on March 5, 1948, and said.

"Even at the moment of accession. we went out of our way to make unilateral declaration that we would abide by the will of the people of Kashmir, as declared in a plebiscite or a referendum. We insisted further that the Government of Kashmir would immediately become a popular government. We have adhered to that position throughout and we are prepared to have a plebiscite; with every protection for fair voting, and to abide by the decision of the people of Kashmir.

"Ultimately, there is no doubt in my mind, that in Kashmir, as elsewhere, the people of Kashmir will decide finally and that all we wish is that they should have freedom of decision without any external compulsion."

In the year 1948, the Government of India issued a White Paper on Kashmir in which the Nehruvian promice of plebiscite was repeated. Says the white paper:

"The question of accession is to be decided, finally through a plebiscite, on this there is no dispute. There will be no victimization of any native of the State, whatever, his political views may be and no Kashmiri will be deprived of his right to vote.

Gopalaswami Ayyengar, Minister Incharge of Kashmir affairs of Pandit Nehru's government told the Constituent Assembly of India on May 27, 1948:

"No doubt, we have offered to have a plebiscite taken when the conditions are created for holding of a proper and impartial plebiscite. But if the plebiscite produces a verdict which is against the continuance of the accession to India of the Kashmir State, then what we are committed to is simply that we shall not stand in the way of Kashmir separating itself from India.

Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru went to London in January 1951, where he addressed a press conference. The statement he made there was also reported by the *Statesman*, New Delhi, on January 18, 1951. Says the report in the *Statesman*:

"We all agreed that it is the people of the State who must decide for themselves about their future externally or internally. It is an obvious fact that, even without our agreement, no country is going to hold on to Kashmir against the will of the Kashmiris."

The Indian Prime Minister made the following statement in the Indian Parliament on February 12, 1951:

"We have given our pledge to the people of Kashmir, and subsequently to the United Nations; we stood by it and we stand buy it today. Let the people of Kashmir decide."

Indian Prime Minister Nehru visited Srinagar, summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir, in June 1951, where he addressed a public meeting. Inter alia, according to the report of the prominent Indian newspaper, the *Hindu*, Madras, dated June 6, 1961, Nehru said:

"First of all, I would like to remind you all of the fateful days of 1947, when I came to Srinagar and gave the solemn assurance that the people of India would stand by Kashmir in her struggle. On that assurance, I shook Sheikh Abdullah's hand before the vast multitude that had gathered there. I want to repeat that the government of India will stand by that pledge, whatever happens, that pledge itself stated that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide their fate without external interference. That assurance also remains and will continue."

Indian Prime Minister Nehru submitted a report to the All India Congress Committee. The report appeared in the *Statesman* New Delhi, on July 9, 1951, saying:

"Kashmir has been wrongly looked upon as a prize for India or Pakistan. People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future. It is here today that a struggle is being fought, not in the battlefield but in the minds of men."

Pandit Nehru made a statement, as reported by *Amritbazar Patrika*, Calcutta, on January 2, 1952, saying:

"Kashmir is not the property of either India or Pakistan, it belongs to the Kashmiri people. When Kashmir acceded to India, we made it clear to the leaders of the Kashmiri people, that we would ultimately abide by the verdict of their plebiscite. If they tell us to walk out, I would have no hesitation in quitting Kashmir.

"We have taken the issue to the United Nations and given our word of honour for a peaceful solution . . . As a great nation we cannot go back on it. We have left the question for final solution to the people of Kashmir and we are determined to abide by their decision."

On June 26, 1952, the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, told the Indian Parliament:

"If, after a proper plebiscite, the people of Kashmir said: 'We do not want to be with India', we are committed to accept it though it might pain us. We will not send an army against them. We will accept that, however, hurt we might feel about it, we will change the Constitution, if necessary. India is a great country and Kashmir is almost in the heart of Asia. There is an enormous difference not only geographically but in all kinds of facts there. Do you think (in dealing with Kashmir) you are dealing with a part of U.P. or Bihar or Gujrat?"

Here is a quotation from the speech of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, as reported by the *Times of India*, Bombay, July 2, 1952.

"In any event, from the start, India was committed to the principle of letting the final word regarding the accession rest with the people of the princely states and there could be no getting away from that commitment. In fact, that was why India had accepted Kashmir's accession only provisionally in 1947, when I came to Srinagar and gave the solemn assurance that the people of India would stand by Kashmir in her struggle. On that assurance I shook Sheikh Abdullah's hand before the vast multitude that had gathered there. I want to repeat that India will stand by that pledge, whatever happens, that pledge itself stated that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide their fate without external interference. That assurance also remains and will continue.

Pandit Nehru also made the following statement on Kashmir in the Indian Parliament on August 1, 1952.

"With all deference to this Parliament, I should like to say that the ultimate decision will be made in the minds and hearts of the men of Kashmir and not in this Parliament or in the UN . . . First of all, let me say clearly that we accept the basic proposition that the future of Kashmir is going to be decided finally by the goodwill and pleasure of its people. The goodwill and the pleasure of this Parliament is of no importance in this matter, not because this Parliament does not have the strength to decide the question of Kashmir but because any kind of imposition would be against the principle that this Parliament holds . . . If, however, the people of Kashmir do not wish to remain with us, let them go by all means; we will not keep them against our will, however, painful it may be to us. We want no forced marriages, no forced unions.

"I want to stress that it is only the people of

Kashmir, who can decide the future of Kashmir, it is our conviction and one that is borne out by the policy we have pursued, not only in Kashmir but everywhere. Though, these five years have meant a lot of trouble and expense, and inspite of all, we have done, we would willingly leave Kashmir if it is made clear to us that the people of Kashmir wanted us to go. However, sad we may feel about leaving, we are not going to stay against the wishes of the people. We are not going to impose ourselves on them at the point of the bayonet."

Judging from the statements of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, one is led to believe that he was the most sincere, progressive and reasonable person, who wanted to solve the issue of Kashmir in a democratic and ideal manner, according to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the UNCIP, as well as the lofty ideal of the right of self-determination. But this was only the one side, the outer appearance of the first Prime Minister of India. The other side, which was the inner side, was dark indeed. Leave aside what Pakistani politicians or writers have to say or have written about Nehru. Let us see how his life-long friend and follower, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, who was called *Sher-i-Kashmir* or the Lion of Kashmir by his people but was caged and tamed by Pandit Nehru has to say about Nehru. Abdullah abandoned all the principles and nobler ideas on which he had started his political career in Kashmir in the year 1931, and from Kashmir's lion, he became *Kashmiri Gandhi*, and also *Kashmiri Nehru*.

Abdullah on pages 350 to 355 of his autobiography has exposed the real Hindu revivalist, who was keen to restore the "ancient greatness" of India and his *Discovery of India* sometimes came imperceptibly, though, close to the ideology of Hindu revivalists like K.M. Munshi and Swami Dayanad Sarsvat (the founder of the *Arya Samaj*). He considered himself an instrument of the restoration and revival of this ancient empire and thus, his politics included the elements of the politics and charlatanism of Machiavelle also. Thus, this follower of a principled person like Mahatma Gandhi was a worshipper of the old Indian political theorist like Chanakya, the author of the book *Arthashastra,* in which Chanakya has described the tricks and strategies of politics and diplomacy. Pandit Nehru has admitted that this book would remain under his pillow. This is why Nehru adopted this sort of politics with us in Kashmir and also in international politics with Hungary and other issues.

Abdullah says that one of the weaknesses of Nehru were women. They included Sarojini Naidu, Padmajna Naidu, Mridulas Sarabai, Edwina Mountbatten and scores of other women, Abdullah says that he was very fond of beautiful women. Sometimes, it happened that if he was out of mood, some beautiful woman would appear and he would come to his own. On many occasions, it happened that he was in a very large national meting, but if some female favourite came, he would forget where he was and start light talk with her. Abdullah says that the following verse of Akbar Allahabadi applied to him aptly:

Roke sakti nahin taqwa say mujhay koi sada
Shart yeh hai ki voh paazeb ki jhankar na ho

(No sound can dissuade me from the path of abstention, but the condition is that should not be the sound of the anklets of some damsel).[119]

Abdullah has dealt at length with the machinations of Pandit Nehru in Kashmir. He says that he went to the extent of playing Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad against his benefactor (Abdullah).

Abdullah has tried to differentiate between the "principled" Gandhi and the passionate Nehru, but, as we have seen, even Gandhi was responsible for enslavement of Kashmir. For Kashmirs, there is little to choose between the two.

WOES OF THE PRESS IN OCCUPIED KASHMIR

The publishers of the newspapers of Indian held Valley of Kashmir have decided to boycott the publication of all officials news of the so-called government of Occupied Kashmir. This decision has been taken against the new policy of discrimination by the Kashmir government with respect to issue of advertisements to those issued from Srinagar and other parts of the Valley as against those issued from Jammu. According to the fear expressed by the Valley editors, those from Jammu, being mostly Hindu-owned newspapers, will get the lion's share of the advertisements while those issued from the Valley, will get far less than what the Hindu newspapers from Jammu will get.

One wonders, if this action of the newspapers from Srinagar will bring out any change in the policy, because the regime is already fed up with the newspapers issued from Srinagar. On one occasion, when there was governor's rule in the occupied state and Jagmohan, nicknamed "butcher", was the governor, he made public a decision of his own that all the newspapers from the Valley would be banned. This, he decided because the Srinagar newspapers used to give publicity to the mujahideen and the freedom fighters. They were not giving coverage to the mujahid's actions in the Valley for the fun of it. Firstly, they could not ignore the news of some clash or some killing in any part of the Valley. The purpose of the newspaper is to give the report, whether it likes it or not. Secondly, even if, under government advice, the newspapers would like to avoid the publicity of the statements and activities of the mujahideen, they incurred the displeasure of the mujahideen, who had the power to take action against the newspapers. A Srinager editor, who was on a visit to Pakistan, once told me that when his paper was already printed or in the process of printing in the press, a group of mujahideen would come and say. "This news must appear in the paper in the morning" and it would take a lot of time to explain to them that it was an impossibility because such news could be included when the copies were being pasted and not when they were being printed. At that time, and even now, the writ of the mujahideen ran in the Valley and the government could not help the pressmen.

On one occasion in the late eighties, Farooq Abdullah said that precensorship would be imposed on all the newspapers, issued from Srinagar, so that the news of the insurgency did not appear in the newspapers. He said that the publicity was encouraging the mujahideen to further action and they were becoming the heroes of the people. The editors told him that it would ruin the press and the publication of the newspapers would be hindered. Farooq had already moved a bill in the Kashmir assembly to this effect. But the editors decided to undertake a "sit-in" (*dharna*) before the legislative assembly. It must be said to the credit of some of the Indian journalists, like Kuldip Nayar, that they came all the way from Delhi to join the Kashmiri pressmen in the sit-in in Srinagar. This had the desired effect and the Farooq regime withdrew the bill intended to impose precensorship on all newspapers.

The "government" version to the present policy is that they have only categorised the newspapers of Kashmir and Jammu, both. There is grade "A" for those whose circulation is above five thousand and which have at least eight pages of the standard size. Unfortunately, no newspaper issued from Srinagar fulfils these two conditions now. They have said that at one time, before the armed revolt started in Kashmir, they used to have more than eight pages but the disorder and the extraordinary circumstances in the Valley have forced the newspapers to reduced the number of their pages to four only. And the disturbances in the Valley have also affected the circulation.

The non-Muslim newspapers issued from Jammu city, which is a predominantly non-Muslim city, have got all the amenities and facilities. There are not those elements from the people's side, who can dictate to the editors what to publish and what not to publish. They are bettor circulated and are also read in the Valley of Kashmir. If the present policy adopted by the Farooq regime goes unchecked, the Muslim press of the Valley would be victimised and deteriorated further economically.

During the past ten years, the editors and journalists of the Valley have had to undergo through many an ordeal. The editor of the *Al-Safa*, Urdu daily, Muhammad Shaaban Vakil was killed in broad day light and so far nobody has been taken to task for this. Yusuf Jamil of the BBC was arrested by the army and taken to Uri town for investigation. The news of his arrest went on air and there was consternation among the pressmen and the Indian Ministry of Defence, alarmed, issued a press release saying that Army had not arrested Yusuf Jamil. But in the evening, Jamil reached Srinagar as he had been released after questioning by the army. Then, the Indian Ministry of Defence corrected itself, saying that a junior officer of the Army had done it. As if it made any difference. It was thought that he was to meet custodial death, but when there was great alarm in and outside the country, he was released. For fear of life, he gave up his job in the BBC.

On another occasion, a parcel was delivered in his office near Lal Chauk by a suspicious lady who went away after delivering the parcel. His friend Mushtaq Ahmad, press photographer tried to open the parcel, thinking that it was a book and it went off with a bang. It was a bomb. It killed Mushtaq and injured Yusuf Jamil.

Another Kashmiri journalist, Zafar Meraj was coming back from Baramula, after interviewing a leader. He was waylaid and fired upon. Poor Zafar Meraj was badly injured and he had to remain in a hospital in Delhi for months together before he could move and resume his task.

An agent of the daily *Al-Safa* in Ganderbal was accused by the army authorities of giving a bad name to the army by publishing what they called derogatory remarks about an officer. The news he had sent was that a Major of the army would enter a girls school in the area and start lecturing to the students against the mujahideen. Then he would stand outside the school and start searching the girls physically, expressing the fear that they were hiding handgrenades and small arms under their clothes. For this, the newspaper reporter, who was also the agent of the *Al-Safa* was killed and even his father was done to death.

The army agents raided the house of Ghulam Nabi Shaida, Editor, *Wadi Ki Awaz* and tried to kidnap him. He and his family members raised a hue and cry and this brought the neighbours to the house and the agents ran away.

Naeema Ahmad Mahjoor, a Kashmiri employee of the All India Radio who for some years was associated with the BBC in London, had come home to Srinagar, when the armed agents of the Army came and tried to kidnap her. She too raised an alarm and her neighbours rushed to her help. In the evening on the same day, this incident was reported by the BBC in its Urdu Service, but the Srinagar administration, nor the Indian army had any explanation to give.

Passes issued to the reporters and other employees of the newspapers of Srinagar are not honoured by the army authorities. Journalists have to go home during odd hours and they are supposed to have passes, otherwise they can be arrested by the army and then there would be no news about them. But for the passes issued by the District Magistrate, the army authorities show no respect and they hurl abuses on those who issue the passes and also those who carry them.

Thus, the journalists of Kashmir are working under heavy odds. The press in Kashmir Valley was started in 1932, when under pressure of the first mass agitations, the Government was forced to agree that Kashmiris should have elementary rights like the freedom of speech, press and formation of political associations. Jammu had its first journal in 1924, that is eight years earlier and for that too, the permission had been given by Maharaja Pratap Singh after refusing it thrice. If no action is taken by the sympathisers of the Kashmiris right now, the future of the press in Kashmir, and also the future of the Kashmiris themselves, is going to be very dark.

INDIAN LOK SABHA AND KASHMIR

Lok Sabha elections in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir have done more harm than good to India herself. She has gained nothing by the elections. She has lost much.

Indian Government had hoped that the elections would be a routine matter. But the fact remains that in Indian held Kashmir, throughout the last fifty years, elections, whether for the Lok Sabha or for the State legislative assembly, have not been a routine matter.

Had they been a routine matter, there would have been no separate Election Commission for Jammu and Kashmir in the first decade. The members for the Lok Sabha, Kashmir, would not have been selected by the State legislative assembly, but would have been elected in the normal manner. But the case of Kashmir is different from India's own standards. Every candidate in Kashmir, whether for the Lok Sabha or for the State legislative assembly, is supposed to file an **affidavit** along with his or her nomination papers that he or she considers the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India as final. There is no such condition for the candidates from other parts of India. This particular **affidavit** is to be submitted by the candidates for the elections in Jammu and Kashmir only and the purpose of this condition is to keep out those candidates from the arena of elections who may try to undo the fake accession of Kashmir by a vote in the legislative assembly of Kashmir.

Remember, what a moderate Prime Minister of India like Morarji Desai, who was tipped for *Nishan-i-Pakistan* by the regime of General Muhammad Zia-ul Haque, said to Indian journalist Pran Chopra, who wrote in the weekly *MAG* of Karachi, more than a decade ago that Desai had told him. "I am also in favour of free and impartial elections in Kashmir, but if that election results in returning such persons to the assembly who would try to undo the accession of Kashmir to India, then I am against such elections." This means that the Indian rulers want the elections to be "positive" and positive here means that the relations between India and Kashmir which were forced on the Kashmiri people by the Indian army and the crafty leaders like Gandhi and Nehru should not be disturbed.

And this was one of the reasons of the boycott of the people of Kashmir and Jammu to the Lok Sabha polls in the State. Who can deny that Kashmiris, in the year 1987, went an extra-mile by taking part in the elections to the Kashmir Legislative assembly under the flag of the 13 parties Jammu Kashmir Muslim United Front. Instead of reciprocating the sentiments of the people of Kashmir, especially the Muslims, the Indian rulers and the Kashmiri ruling clique joined hands to rig the elections. This was on 23rd March, 1987. The candidates of MUF went so far as to satisfy the ego of the Indian rulers and even filed the disputed and hated affidavit about the finality of accession to India, but even then the Indian Election Commission, coupled with the State regime, jointly tried to keep the MUF candidates out. Nomination papers of some of them were rejected, the proposers and seconders of some of them were kidnapped so that they could not propose and second their candidates and lastly, the Kashmir police and the gangsters of the Hindu Congress who had been imported from many parts of India to help the Congress-National Conference Alliance did not allow the voters of the MUF to come near the polling booths and cast their votes. And when polling took place, the ballot boxes were tampered with by the administration. And even newspapers of India and Kashmir wrote that votes were cast in favour of the Muslim United Front, but they came out of the ballot boxes of the Congress-I—National Conference Alliance. This was done in 1987 i.e., 11 years ago.

Something worse happened this time. The leaders of the All Parties Hurriet Conference, who were holding peaceful public meetings and urging the people of the State to exercise their right of boycott were arrested and put behind the bars or under house arrest. Public meetings of the All Parties Hurriet Conference were disturbed and the Army and the paramilitary troops tried to create horror and strike terror in the mind of the people of the State. Threats were conveyed to the people that if they did not come out to cast their votes on the polling day, they would be dealt with seriously.

And, since the purpose was to rig the elections with the help of the army and the paramilitary troops, first the schedule said that elections would be held on two days, i.e., 21st February and 7th March. But, since Farooq Abdullah wanted his son to become a member of the Lok Sabha, he prevailed upon the Election Commission and the administration and the polls for this particular constituency, called Srinagar-Budgam, were held one week ahead of the schedule. Polls were not to be held in any other constituency on that day as Farooq wanted that the entire brute force and the government machinery should be free to work for the son of the chief minister on that particular day. Next day, Indian newspapers and foreign media reported that on this polling day, the Valley of Kashmir looked like a battlefield. Everywhere, there were demonstrations, crackdowns, street fighting, arrests, skirmishes, firings on people and tear-gas shells were thrown right and left. In remorter hilly and rural areas, village folks were driven like cattle to the polling booths and forced to cast their votes, but still, in some of the polling booths, not more than a couple of votes were cast till the afternoon.

Elections to the two constituencies of Northern and Southern Kashmir were held on 7th March and those of the Udhampur Doda constituency were postponed to 18th March. The reason of this postponement was given that the weather in Doda was. bad as there had been snowing in that area. The fact is that snow fell in the Valley of Kashmir on the eve of 7th March but the polling was held there all the same. In Doda, there is not much of snowing and the elections were postponed there. There is a Kashmiri proverb, which says: *Khanabaleh khayayeh woontan kupus, Khadanyar tsachakh haestis nus* (A camel ate up the field of cotton in Khanabal area, but, as a punishment of that, the trunk of an elephant was chopped off in Khadanyar area). There is a similar saying in Punjabi too and that is: *"Khota Moya Kharian tay sog Aurangabad* (The ass died in Kharian town, but his death was mourned in Aurangabad (the Sara-i-Alamgir). Instead of postponing the elections in the Valley, the Indian Election Commission and the Kashmir Government postponed the elections in Doda-Udhampur.

All this was done by Farooq Abdullah hoping that he would manipulate the elections and get at least four or five of the six seats in the State. He has been able to get only two. His archrival, Mr. Mufti Muhammad Sayeed, who never got elected during the past fifty years, in the Valley, has been elected an MP from the Valley this time. His younger daughter, Miss Mehbooba Mufti, is already a *pacca* nuisance for Farooq in the State legislature. The bargaining power of Farooq has been considerably reduced. He is now at the mercy of the Centre. Even Dr. Karan Singh, the person who dismissed Farooq's Daddy, Sheikh Abdullah, in August 1953, has resigned from the Autonomy Committee. Farooq is playing ducks and drakes with the ruling party of New Delhi. His only purpose is to remain in power in Srinagar, whatever the position is in India. He has resigned from the United Front, because it is against this tradition to remain with the losing party. He is the "rising son" of Sheikh Abdullah and therefore, supports the rising sun in Indian politics.

It is time, India realised the futility of holding elections in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir. No purpose is served by elections and the people of Kashmir have become more distant from New Delhi. Kashmiris have proved, if proof was needed, that they are not for India, they want to undo the fake accession at the earliest, by ballot if possible, otherwise by the bullet. Since, this is the age of freedom and democracy, popular will and detente, the Indian rulers would be well advised to write off Kashmir, hold meaningful talks with the All Parties Hurriet Conference and the Government of Pakistan. That would pave way for a proper, democratic and peaceful solution of the issue of Kashmir. That would usher a new era of peace, understanding and normalcy in the subcontinent. The ball is now in India's court.

KARAN SINGH IN HIS TRUE COLOURS

Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the so called chief minister of Indian held Kashmir, must have passed some uneasy nights when he must have learnt that Dr. Karan Singh, the "uncrowned prince of Jammu and Kashmir", the scion of the late Maharaja Hari Singh, whom Farooq made last year the Chairman of the Autonomy Committee to recommend the quantum of autonomy which could be demanded for Jammu and Kashmir, resigned from the charimanship and the membership of the Committee. The reasons given for this resignation were said to be personal, but subsequent disclosures show that there is nothing personal and that like any communalist and pro-Indian Hindu politician of Jammu, Mr. Karan Singh has succumbed to those elements which were pressurising him to resign from the Autonomy Committee, as it did not behove the scion of Hari Singh, who was the architect of Kashmir's accession to India, to head a Committee which could in any way be instrumental in loosening the Indian grip on Kashmir.

Quite an encounter seems to have taken place between Karan Singh and the Indian (Kashmiri) Minister of State for Tourism and Environment in a meeting which was held in New Delhi under the chairmanship of I.K. Gujral, when India was to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of her independence. All former prime ministers and some "noted citizens" of India also partook in the meeting. Among them was also Karan Singh, the sitting member of the Rajya Sabha from Kashmir, former governor of Kashmir and the first and the last State president or *Sadr-i-riyasat* of Jammu and Kashmir for more than a decade. It was without reason or provocation in the meeting in New Delhi, that Karan Singh said that there was nothing like autonomy in Kashmir and there had been no Delhi Agreement between the then Indian Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru and the then Kashmir Prime Minister, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah on the internal autonomy of Kashmir within India, Minister of State, Professor Saifuddin Soz confronted Karan Singh on the spot and reminded him that the Delhi Agreement of July 1952, between Nehru and Abdullah was a reality and that it had been presented and approved in the Indian Lok Sabha by Nehru himself on 24th July 1952 and then it was also passed in the Constituent Assembly of Occupied Kashmir and that gave the Kashmiris a right to have their own constitution in addition to the Indian constitution which had limited application in Jammu and Kashmir. Soz reminded Karan Singh that he himself had been elected the *Sadr-i-Riyasat* or the "State President" by the Kashmir legislature because of the Delhi Agreement which made Kashmir autonomous within India. The confrontation by Soz unnerved the former *Yauraj* and when the news of the encounter appeared in the press, Karan Singh could not resist making public the fact that he no more wanted to remain in the Autonomy Committee as its Chairman or a member.

Saifuddin Soz rightly confronted Karan Singh by pointing out that the demand of restoration of the autonomy of Kashmir according to the article 370 of the Indian Constitution, the Delhi Agreement of 1952 and the separate constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, unlike any other state of the Indian Union which is governed only by the Indian Constitution was a reality. The news of the encounter was flashed by a section of the Indian press and it made the position of Karan Singh pretty awkward and he had to eat the humble pie.

When Karan Singh was born 68 years ago, there were great rejoicings in the Kashmir *durbar* as he was the only heir to the throne of Kashmir. When Maharaja failed to decide the future of Kashmir in August 1947. according to the wishes of his subjects, and had to flee from Srinagar to Jammu in the last week of October, Karan had a fractured leg, plastered by a surgeon and had to move from Srinagar to Jammu in that shape, along with the cavalcade. About his early life and events in Kashmir, Karan has written a very interesting book named *Heir Apparent* in which he says that Kashmir should have been partitioned between India and Pakistān on the basis of religion in 1947. He has also published the text of an apology (*muafi nama*) which Sheikh Abdullah had sent to the Maharaja from jail in 1947, to secure pardon and his release from jail sentence which he was serving as a sequel to the "Quit Kashmir" agitation.

To recapitulate, Karan Singh was reminded by Saifuddin Soz in the meeting in New Delhi which was chaired by I.K. Gujral that it was incorrect to say that there was no Delhi Agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Kashmir in July 1952 and that the autonomy had no basis. Soz rightly reminded him that after protracted talks between the Kashmiris and the Indians, a Delhi agreement of nine points was brought about and it guaranteed maximum autonomy to Kashmir according to the article 370 of the Indian Constitution. According to this Kashmir was, unlike and other "Indian" state to have its own Constitution and its own State President (*Sadr-i-Riyasat*) and Prime Minister, whereas all other Indian states had governors and chief ministers, the former being appointed by the Indian President.

The Delhi Agreement was presented by Nehru in the Indian Parliament and when Abdullah and Afzal Beg went to Srinagar, the latter told the pressmen at the airport that Kashmir had got maximum autonomy in the Indian Union and Kashmir was a state within a state. The first item of agreement was that the residuary powers in the State would vest with the Indian Government. That Kashmir would have its own independent judiciary, its own election commission and a separate constitution and own flag unlike any other Indian state.

Saifuddin Soz reminded Karan Singh that he (Karan) was elected, at the tender age of thirty one years, the *Sadr-i-Riyasat* of Kashmir by the state legislature on 14th November, 1952 and was given oath of office on 17th November, 1952. It is quite another thing that a conspiracy was brewing in Delhi against the frail autonomy of Kashmir and on 8th August, 1953, just after eight months of his "presidentship" of Jammu and Kashmir, Karan on the irresistible orders of Pandit Nehru, dismissed Sheikh Abdullah from the prime-ministership of Kashmir and on 9th August Abdullah was imprisoned without trial for five long years, and when he was released for a short span of some months in 1958, he was re-arrested after some time, and then a Kashmir Conspiracy Case was registered against him and his partymen which was withdrawn after some more time.

During this period, Karan continued to be the *Sadr-i-Riyasat* of the State while his ancestors had ruled as autocratic Maharajas, for one hundred and one years. Karan sided not with the people of Kashmir but with the Indian rulers, and the autonomy of Kashmir was eroded with his active connivance. It was with his connivance that state presidentship was changed into governorship and prime minister became chief minister, and Karan was made the first governor of Kashmir during the regime of Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq. Later, he became a member of the Lok Sabha and then Minister of Civil Aviation and Tourism in the Indian Government. When that also ended, Karan invented the theory of trisection of Occupied Kashmir. He said that Ladakh, the Budhist area, should be taken over by the Indian Government and administered by them directly, Jammu province be given maximum autonomy within Jammu Kashmir State and the Valley of Kashmir be also given maximum autonomy. This theory of his was actually propounded once upon a time by Balraj Purni, a human rights activist of Jammu. He tried to sell his theory even to Sheikh Abdullah, for whom he carried some crates of Kashmiri almonds from Srinagar to Delhi as a present. Abdullah was at that time nominally detained in New Delhi and he was also being groomed for a role in the Kashmir regime as Chief Minister or something like that.

Later on, Karan Singh was made India's ambassador in the USA. It was during that period that Karan Singh started giving the impression that he could play a constructive role in the resolution of the Kashmir struggle. On one occasions, he even went to the extent of saying that Kashmir's autonomy be restored to the status of what it was on 27th October 1947, before his father, the Maharaja, acceded to India.

It is sad to note now that the same person, who had gained some goodwill amongst the people of Kashmir, fighting for their freedom, says now that there was never any autonomy in Kashmir, that there was nothing like the Delhi Agreement and special status of Kashmir had no basis. During the past years, Karan Singh had earned some goodwill in Kashmiri circles, when he started lending some moral support to the move that the problem of Kashmir be resolved, politically. When Hazratbal shrine was under siege in 1993, he, along with his *maharani*, went to the shrine and in his own way, prayed near the shrine, and also had a look at the palace of Gupkar from that place, and went nostalgic. On the same day, he addressed a press conference and urged that the problem of Kashmir be settled peacefully. He said that it was a fact that legally his father had acceded to India, but it was also a fact that there was a dispute over the future of Kashmir. He offered his services to the Governor of Kashmir for restoration of peace in Kashmir, but the latter mildly turned it down. Karan Singh had proposed some sort of cease-fire between the mujahideen and the Indian forces. When the Chrar Sharif Shrine was pulled down and burnt, he went to the shrine, invoked the blessings of Hazrat Nooruddin Wali, the great patron saint of Kashmir and paid one lakh rupees as subscription for the reconstruction of the shrine. This had a wholesome effect on the Muslim population.

But it was in 1993 that a seminar on Kashmir was convened by Bhim Singh, a confirmed agent of the RAW of India, in New Delhi. It was chaired by Karan Singh. To this Sardar Abdul Qayyum, then Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir had also been invited, and Bhim Singh published in some Indian papers, the letters he had been receiving from Sardar Qayyum. Sardar Qayyum did not attend the seminar and Bhim Singh stated that Pakistan

Government had not allowed him to do so. This was refuted by him. The Delhi seminar under Karan Singh passed some resolutions, most important of which was that Pakistan was asked to vacate Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan and hand it over to India. This showed that the policy of Karan Singh, in substance, was in no way different from that of the others.

It is also interesting to note that in 1990, when Amanullah Khan of the Liberation Front was angry with the Government of Pakistan, he formed a "revolutionary" government for Jammu and Kashmir in the fourwalls of his imagination. Karan Singh was also announced as one of the Ministers of this imaginary government. I wrote a letter to Karan Singh at his Delhi address, asking him if he had accepted or rejected the nomination by Amanullah. Karan did not care to reply.

To me, it seems that the politics of Karan Singh resembles the policy of Zahir Shah, former King of Afghanistan, who thinks that some day something will happen somehow and he will be invited to lead the Government of Afghanistan. This is also like the two pretenders to the throne of England, James II, called the old pretender and James III, the young pretender, neither of whom could get the throne of England, though they aspired for it all their lives.

Karan Singh is not politically active. He is the son of a Maharaja and has lot of money and property which he is looking after. If power comes without much sacrifice, he would welcome it. Thus, the credulous Farooq Abdullah made him a member of the Indian Rajya Sabha last year, also the chief of the autonomy committee. His son Ajat Shatru Singh, grandson of Hari Singh was made a cabinet member by Farooq Abdullah. Poor Farooq wanted to keep Karan Singh in good humour but forgot that the same person, in league with Nehru, had dismissed and imprisoned his "papa" in 1953 and the same man could do the same thing now. And that is what Karan Singh did.

About four months ago, seventy four "notables from Jammu" who were all non-Muslims except one Muslim lady lecturer of Jammu, issued a joint appeal to Karan Singh in the press and asked him to abandon the chairmanship of the Autonomy Committee, which wanted to loosen the grip of India on Kashmir. He was told by the seventy four notables that his father had been the architect of Kashmir's accession to India and it did not behove him that he should be the chief of the Committee which strived to get maximum internal autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir from India.

Thus, Karan Singh has exposed himself in his true colours. It is the policy of India that if there is a settlement of Kashmir state on the basis of the two nation theory, India should be able to get hold of at least the non-Muslim areas of the State. Karan Singh, who in his book, *The Heir Apparent* advocated that the state should have been divided in 1947, would like to be the leader of the non-Muslim majority areas of the State. It is to be noted that once upon a time, like many other extremist Hindus of Jammu, he had been advocating the merger of Jammu province with Indian Punjab so that the Hindus of Jammu could get rid of the domination of the Kashmiri Muslims, but now, he and others like the "human rights activist" Balraj Puri want Jammu to have maximum autonomy, free from the domination of the Muslims of Kashmir. It is quite strange that while the Hindus of Jammu are not prepared to remain with the Muslims of Kashmir within India, they say that the Muslims of the Valley must remain with India against their wishes. They treat the demand of self-determination by the Kashmiri Muslims, or the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as treason, but at the same time they abhor the idea of the three districts of Jammu, Udhampur and Kathua, remaining with the Kashmir province, although the two provinces have been part of the same state from 1846 to the year of Grace 1998, that is to say, for the last 152 years.

There should be no doubt that Karan Singh has announced his separation from the Autonomy Committee at the instance of the Indian Government, who are suspicious of the slogan of autonomy, because they think, as Jagmohan Malhotra has also written in his book on Kashmir, that internal autonomy is the stopping stone for the complete secession and separation of Jammu and Kashmir from the Indian Union. They compare it with the six points of the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, which ultimately resulted in the conversion of East Pakistan into independent Bangladesh.

Thus, the reasons of the resignation of Karan Singh are personal as well as "national" sponsored by the Government of India which, in the view of settlement of the issue of Kashmir in the near future, wants to have its "pound of flesh" from the body of the Jammu and Kashmir State like Shylock, the Jewish money-lender in William Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice. Karan's resignation also confirms the existence of the two-nation theory. No leader of any importance from the Hindu community, who has some standing, wants to associate himself with the elements who want complete separation of Kashmir is left alone with the slogans, which he now seldom raises because he fears that if he raises the slogan of greater autonomy with full force, he would be shown the way out of power. This again proves that the only and the best solution of the Kashmir issue is the right of self-determination in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

THE SPIRITUAL FORCE BEHIND THE STRUGGLE — NOORUDDIN WALI: PATRON SAINT OF KASHMIR

Sheikh Nooruddin Wali, the patron saint of Kashmir, its most well-known saint, who rendered a great service in converting the people of Kashmir to the Islamic religion. He was a true disciple of Hazrat Amir-i-Kabir Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani and the successor in Kashmir of his son. Hazrat Mir Muhammad Hamadani. When the latter left Kashmir, in the ninth century of the Hijri Era, he gave the Khatt-i-Irshad, or the order of appointment, to Nooruddin Wali of Kashmir. This document, written in Arabic, is preserved in the Khanqah-i-Mu'alla of Shah-i-Hamadan in Srinagar, to this day, like other sacred things, which include a banner which was used in battles by the Prophet of Islam and his followers and progeny. Before the enslavement of Kashmir by India, the faithful in Srinagar used to go on foot from the city to the town of Chrar Sharif, a distance of 20 long miles, when there was no road, for pilgrimage to the place of burial of Nooruddin Wali.

Sheikh Nooruddin Wali is respected by all sects of Kashmiri Muslims. In fact, even Hindus have great respect for him. When the shrine and the town was torched three years ago, even Dr. Karan Singh, former *Sadr-i-Riyasat* of Kashmir went to the shrine, said prayers in his own way, and deposited a sum of one lakh rupees for the re-construction of the tomb of the saint. He is so popular in Kashmir that when one of the Afghan Governors of Kashmir, when Kashmir was under the rulers of Kabul, declared himself independent from Kabul, he struck a coin not in his own name but in the name of Hazrat Sheikh Nooruddin Wali. This happened in the eighteenth century, that is four hundred years after the death of Nooruddin Wali.

For some years after his marriage, Nooruddin Wali, who himself was born in 1377 of the Christian Era abandoned the world, his children and wife remained cut off from the world, for a number of years, and lived on herbs. But after some years, he felt this was not the way of life. He says in one of his poems that living in jungles and woods does not make you a great saint. Had it been so, even the monkeys and jackals could have become saints. One must live in this world and at the same time love Allah. Obey His Commandments and follow the path shown by the Prophet of Allah, Muhammad (PBUH), which is the *path* for the whole human race. He was very strict about Shariah and made clear to his followers, that whosoever deviated from the path of Muhammad (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) would be lost.

Sheikh Nooruddin died at the age of sixty one, in 1438 A.C., when Sultan Zainul Abideen Budshah, the greatest Muslim ruler of Kashmir, was ruling Kashmir. The king went all the way from Srinagar to join the funeral rites of Nooruddin Rishi.

There is hardly any part of Kashmir Valley where Nooruddin did not go to preach the true religion of Islam, to the people of the land in their own language, in prose and verse. Hazrat Shah Hamadan and his son, Mir Muhammad Hamadani, had the difficulty of the language, but their teachings, which were in fact the teachings of the puritan and unadulterated Islam, were explained by Nooruddin Wali in his *shloks (called shrouiks in Kashmiri)* to the people of Kashmir. His short stanzas in the local language became proverbial. These were words of wisdom and the true message of Allah. It has been said about the masnavi of Maulana Jalaluddin Roomi:

Masnaviyay Maulavi Maanavi
Hust Quraan dar zubaney Pahlavi

(The Masnavi of the meaningful Maulavi (Jalaluddin Roomi) is Quran in the Persian language).

The same can be said about the Kashmiri verses of the great saint of Kashmir. These poems, in short lines, give the message of Allah to the people of Kashmir. There is hardly any Kashmiri who does not remember some verses of the famous saint of Kashmir by heart and use them in daily conversation.

He was a revolutionary in his own way. He revolted against the worldly *mullahs* who had been exploiting the true Islamic religion for their worldly gains: Says he:

Maleh hai depize teh Maulvi Roomus
Nataeh maleh deeshit perzi istighfaar

(If you want to see a real Maulana, it is Maulana Jalaluddin Roomi, (the famous Roomi who even Allama Iqbal acknowledged as Peeri Roomi) otherwise if you see a professional mullah, you must seek the refuge of Allah from him).

His immense love for the Holy Quran can be guaged from the following verses of his:

Paire Paire Muhammad Sahibnis shaanus
Yus ummatus heyi paanus seit
Athe khore tem gend bud shaitanus
Yemi lai thev Quraanus seit

(We should sacrifice ourselves for the Grace of Hazrat Muhammad. He will surely take his followers with him. That person tries the hands and feet of the Devil, who has immense love for the Holy Quran.

But the great saint does not like only the appearances and show. All prayer must be motivated by sincerity and not only by formalities. Says he:

Ath gandeh paanus modim rando
Amih seit wondeh mal tsali no
Amih tabiheh aaseh teh jando
Amih fandeh suh athi yiyee no

(There is no use of cleansing your body by washing and rubbing it. This would not make your mind clean. Of course you have a tasbih, a staff (stick) and a cloak made of rags. But you cannot reach God by these tricks).

Like all true saints, Nooruddin believes that we have to sow in this world, by doing good deeds and then alone we can reap in the hereafter. He says:

Sonteh yim tsch kun laagan karan

timai sokh baran biyeh nanday
Yimai Khodai teh Rsool saran
Timi samsarus zein kanday

Indian rulers and their henchmen like Abdullah and his progeny have tried to exploit the sayings and verses of Nooruddin Wali to substantiate their secularism, which is another name of Hinduism. But the texts of the writings of Nooruddin Wali gives lie to the Indian propaganda. When the armed struggle was started in the Valley of Kashmir some years ago, almost the whole Valley converged on the shrine of Nooruddin Wali in Chrar Sharif, and avowed to fight till the last for the freedom of Kashmir from the Indian yoke. Nooruddin Wali is rightly called the *Alamdar-i-Kashmir*, which means the banner-holder of Kashmir. The torching of his shrine and the town was the greatest tragedy of Kashmir in the present century, but Kashmiris hope that by the Grace of Allah, Kashmir will be soon free from Indian domination and Kashmiris will get a chance to decide their fate themselves.

IQBAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO KASHMIR STRUGGLE

Iqbal was a thinker and philosopher of universal and cosmopolitan view, but he had great attachment with Kashmir, the land of his ancestors. In his Persian and Urdu verses, Kashmir has been mentioned with great love and affection, and with anguish and pain about the poverty and the serfdom of the people, especially the Muslims. About the migration of his ancestors from Kashmir to India, the poet wrote as early as 1898, that is, exactly one hundred years ago, when he was a college student in Lahore:

Moti Edan say laal hua hai Yemen say door
Ya nafaai ghazaal hua hai Khutan say door

Hindustan mein aayay hain Kashmir chore kar
Bulbul nay aashiana banaya hai chaman say door

(The pearl is away from Eden and the jewel is away from Yemen, or the musk of the deer is away from Khutan (Cathay). We have come to India, leaving Kashmir behind. The nightingale has built its nest, but away from the garden).

Iqbal could visit the land of his ancestors but one only during his life, in early twenties, but the visit was a historic one. Impressed by the natural beauty of Kashmir, he exclaimed in the Nishat garden:

Koho darya-o-ghuroob-e-aftab
Mun Khuda ra deedam aanja bay hijab

(When I saw the mountain, the lake and the sunset, I witnessed God there without a veil.)

And about the political enslavement of the Kashmiris, the poet said:

Aaj woh Kashmir hai mahkoom-o-majboor-o-faqir
Kal jisay ahle-nazar kahtay thay Irane-i-Sagheer
Kah raha hai daastaan bay dardiyay ayyam ki
Koh kay daman mein woh ghumkhanayay deqane-pir
Seenai aflaak say uthhti hai aah-i-sooz naak
Mardi Haq hota hai jub maroob-i-sultano amir
Aah yeh qaume najeeb-o-charb dast-o-tur demaagh
Hai kahan rooze makafaat aye Khudai deer geer

(That Kashmir is today enslaved, restrained and poor which was called the little Iran by the people who can perceive things. The sad home of an old villager at the bottom of the mountain is relating the story of the unsympathetic role of the times. There comes out a burning sigh from the bosom of the heavens when a truthful man is terrorised by the king or his commander. Alas, this noble, skillful and intelligent nation! Where is the day of retribution. oh God, (who takes action very late).

Iqbal's many writings are in form of question and reply: like those of Ghani Kashmiri, the poet of the late Mughal period. Iqbal wrote the famous complaint (*shikvah*) addressed to Allah Almighty, but then he himself wrote a reply on behalf of Allah. In the same manner, when he complaints about the poor plight of Kashmir to Allah, in the verses quoted above, he provides a reply also. Says he:

Garm ho jata hai jub mahkoom qaumoon ka lahu
Thartharata hai jehane chaar soo-o-rang-o-boo
Pak hota hai zun-o-takhmeen say insaan ka zamir
Karta hai har raah ko roshan chiraghe aarzoo
Woh puranay chaak jin ko uql see sakti naheen
Ishq seeta hai inhain bay sozan-o-tar-e-rafoo
Zarbate paiham say ho jata hai aakher paash paash
Hakimiyyat ka but-e-sangeen dil-o-aayeena roo

(When the blood of enslaved nations starts warming up, the world, on all fours, which is a world of hues and colours, starts shaking. The mind of the human being is cleared of all doubts and suspicions, then every path is illuminated by the lamp of Desire. Those old tearing, which cannot be sewn by logic, it is love which sews them up without a needle and without a thread and by constant striking, ultimately, the stone-hearted and mirror-complexioned idol of desporism is broken to pieces).

Some of the verses on Kashmir written by Iqbal full one hundred years ago, when he was a college student in Lahore, and others about eighty years ago. Only the eyes of a seer could observe that the depressed, deprived, illiterate and "non-martial" Kashmiris, as they were called by friends and foes alike, would rise up like one man and challenge the autocracy of the Maharaja, who enjoyed the support of the British imperialism, and also the might Indian army, whose strength in Kashmir is comparable to the total strength of Pakistan army and which is one fourth of the Indian military might.

In the words of Amir-i-Kabir Mir Sayyed Ali Hamadani, (Shah-e-Hamadan) the spiritual guide of the Kashmiri people from Khatlan (now in Tajikistan) Iqbal says about the Kashmiri nation:

Dar zamanay suf-shikan hum boodah ust
Cheerah-o-janbaaz-o-pudum boodah ust

(Once upon a time (the Kashmiri nation) has been the breaker of the ranks (of its enemies). It has been very hard, playing with its own life and full of spirit).

In fact the Kashmiris have justified the prophecies of the poet of the East. They have shown bravery, determination and courage, which will, with the help of Almighty Allah, lead them to success and victory.

Iqbal rendered meritorious service to the struggle of the Kashmiri people not only in the field of poetry, but also in awakening the Muslims of the sub-continent and making them realise their duty towards their co-religionists and compatriots in Kashmir. He was one of the founder-members of the All-India Kashmir Committee in 1931, and became its President in 1934, in which capacity he conveyed the voice of the Kashmiris, far and wide. In 1934, as President of the Kashmir Committee, he issued a life-size poster which was an appeal addressed to the Muslims of the sub-continent, urging them to realise that Kashmir was a Muslim land and that the freedom of Muslim India was incomplete without the freedom of the "Islamic State of Kashmir".

Throughout the Kashmir Movement since 1931, on every political stage in and written contributions on Kashmir, the State of Jammu and outside, wherever Kashmir was the subject, the verses of Iqbal have been quoted, reproduced and recited in by leaders and thinkers, journalists and writers of all shades of opinion.

It is not without reason that, in Srinagar, the main public meeting-ground, which used to be called Hazoori Bagh or *qawaud maidan* (army parade ground) has been named Iqbal Park and the Research Institute of the Kashmir University in Srinagar has been named as Iqbal Institute. When two decades ago, the Kashmir government wanted to name the Institute in the name of Jawaharlal Nehru, there was a great agitation by the students in Kashmir and the authorities were constrained to abandon the idea of naming it after Nehru and decided in favour of Iqbal.

Let us hope that sooner than expected, the dream of Iqbal about Kashmir, which is the dream of the Kashmiris, will be realised and Kashmir will be free to decide its fate and future in a free and impartial atmosphere according to the universally accepted right of self-determination.

KASHMIR: A MUSLIM STATE

Allama Iqbal said nothing unusual or extradinary in 1934, when he, as the President of the All-India Kashmir Committee, issued an appeal, in shape of a life-size poster, to the Muslims of the sub-continent, urging them to observe 14th August as the day of support and solidarity with the Muslims of Kashmir, in which he said that unless the "Islamic State of Kashmir was liberated, the freedom of the Muslim-India would be incomplete. By Muslim-India was at that time meant the Muslim nation of India. The name, Pakistan had not at that time been adopted for the independent State of the Muslims of the sub-continent.

Allama was a Muslim and also a Kashmiri. His love for the freedom of Kashmir and his sympathy for the Kashmiris knew no bounds, but it is pertinent to note that in the same year, even Gandhi, the "Mahatma" made a commitment to the effect that Kashmir was bound to become a Muslim State and that the Maharaja of Kashmir must rule and administer Kashmir as the Muslims of Kashmir want him to rule. A letter was written by M.K. Gandhi in reply to a letter which he had received from Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz a Kashmir Pandit journalist and politician of Kashmir, asking the Mahatma what the Maharaja, who was the head of the Muslim majority State of Kashmir, should do. Gandhi on 5th May, 1934, that is, thirteen years before the independence of Pakistan and Bharat, wrote to Bazaz: "Knowing that Kashmir is predominantly Musalman, it is one day bound to become a Musalman State. Therefore, a Hindu prince can rule it only by not ruling i.e., doing as the Musalmans want him to do or by abdicating in their favour. That is the ideal. What is expedient is more than I can judge."

This letter has been quoted by Mr. P.N. Bazaz on page 343 of his book *History of the struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, published by him from New Delhi in 1954. When Gandhi, for the first and last time visited Kashmir in August 1947, to conspire against the Muslims of Kashmir. Bazaz reproduced this letter of Gandhi and its Urdu translation in his Urdu Daily *Hamdard* of Srinagar and appealed to Gandhi to desist from conspiring against the people of Kashmir.

It is strange that, contrary to what he had said about the future of Kashmir in 1934, that it was bound to become a Muslim state. Gandhi advised to Maharaja to join India, against the wishes of the majority of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, who were and are Muslims. This was the contradiction in the personality of Gandhi, that he used to say one thing and do the other. In 1934, he said that the ideal thing for the Maharaja was to do as the Muslims wanted him to do, but in 1947, the selfsame Maharaja was advised by Gandhi to join India, because that was expedient from the Hindu communalist point of view. Because of the bad advice of Gandhi, the issue of Kashmir was created and that has been poisoning the relations of India and Pakistan for the last half a century. Had the so-called Mahatma not pressurised the Maharaja to join India in the name of the Hindu religion, Kashmir would not have joined Bharat, but would have associated itself with Pakistan and there would have been no three wars between India and Pakistan and the Kashmiris would have been spared the tribulations and the ordeals which they have been undergoing from 1947 to the present day.

Anyhow, Kashmir is still a Muslim State. It is, however, dominated and enslaved by a much larger Hindu country, that is Bharat. The issue of Kashmir was internationalised by India herself when she rushed to the United Nations Security Council with a complaint against Pakistan in 1947, that she had engineered the tribal attack on Kashmir which, according to the Indian claim, had acceded to Bharat and was its legal part.

What happened in the UN Security Council is common knowledge, India agreed to the holding of a plebiscite to determine the future shape and the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan, but when the time to implement the same came, India backed out and the existence of the unsolved issue of Kashmir is the result of that intransigent and obstructionist policy of India.

But we must be thankful to Mohandas Kramchand Gandhi to have spoken the truth in May 1934, that is sixty four years ago, in his letter to Prem Nath Bazaz, that Kashmir was ultimately bound to become a Musalman State. Majority of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir are Muslims. They are eighty per cent of the population and as regards the Valley of Kashmir, it has Muslims as ninty five per cent while the Hindus are just five per cent. While Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas are cent per cent Muslim, even in the Indian held Kashmir of today, despite the sinister attempts of India to change the demography of Kashmir, ten out of the fourteen districts of Indian occupied Kashmir are Muslim majority districts. There are six districts of the Valley namely Srinagar, Budgam, Baramula, Kupwara, Pulwama and Anantnag (Islamabad), three of Jammu province namely Doda, Poonch and Rajouri and one of Ladakh region, that is Kargil. The rest three of Jammu province, namely Udhampur, Jammu and Kathua are Hindu majority while Leh of Ladakh region is said to be a Budhist majority district.

Come what may, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is and will remain a Muslim state, despite the machinations and conspiracies of the enemies of Islam to the contrary. Kashmir opted for Islam wholesale in the fourteenth century of the Christian Era, corresponding to the eighth century of the Hijri Era. In the previous centuries, hardly ten per cent of the Kashmiris had become Muslims, but due to efforts of preachers and teachers of Islam from Central Asia, the Kashmiris accepted the Islamic faith in right earnest. They continued to rule the State for four hundred and eighty two years and when the Punjab was dominated by the Sikhs, Kashmir was also enslaved by them in 1819, to be followed by the Dogras of Jammu in 1846, and by the Bhartis in 1937. Thus, Kashmir has been under non-Muslim rule now for the last one hundred and seventy nine years, that is to say, nearly two centuries, but still, by the Grace of Almighty Allah, the Muslim majority of the State is still there. Half a million of them were driven out of their homeland by the Indian and the Dogra army, and a large number of them were killed by the agents of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sang, the militant Hindu organisation from India, who had sent ten thousand of its volunteers to Jammu and Kashmir ten days before the fake accession of Kashmir to India, and that was arranged by the then Deputy Prime Minister of India Sardar Patel.

Kashmir is a Muslim State and part of the Muslim world, and it is gratifying to note that the

Muslim world also realises the importance of the issue of Kashmir and that is why for the last eight years, the OIC passed resolutions about Kashmir at the level of the Foreign Ministers and also the Heads of the States.

It is not possible for India to eliminate the Muslim entity and identity of Kashmir. The Muslims of Kashmir have been making sacrifices to restore their freedom and re-establish the glory of Islam in their land. By the Grace of Allah Almighty, they are bound to succeed and defeat the Indian imperialist in Kashmir. Insha Allah, the freedom of Kashmir is to become a reality much earlier than expected.

KASHMIR FREEDOM MOVEMENT: THE MILESTONES

It is not correct to say that the movement for freedom in Jammu and Kashmir State started in 1988, or 1989. It is not also correct to say that the freedom movement of Kashmir has been going on since Kashmir was invaded by India on 27th October, 1947. It is a fact, however, that political agitation and movement started in Kashmir in the modern sense of the term in the year 1931.

But, as you dive deep into the history of Kashmir, you find, that, from the Muslim point of view, Kashmir was enslaved by the Sikh ruler of Lahore, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh in 1819, when he, with the connivance of some noted Kashmiri Pandits attacked Kashmir and overran the Valley. The Sikh rule was the worst period of the history of Kashmir. It is known as *Sikhashahi*. History tells us that Kashmir Valley was devastated by the Sikh rulers, by the epidemics and the floods and resultant famines which overtook the Kashmiri during that period of twenty seven years. The population of the Valley, which was eight lakhs when the Sikhs overran it, was reduced to just two lakhs. But the people of Kashmir and Poonch did not take all this lying down. Revolts were organised by Muslim leaders against the Sikh rule. In this they sought the help of the Islamic regime set up by Hazrat Sayyed Ahmad Barelvi and Maulana Shah Ismail, at Panjtaar, (now NWFP). The two divines decided to help the Kashmiris and set off for Kashmir along with their forces, which were a few hundred only. They were intercepted by General Sher Singh of the Sikh Army at Balakot. Sher Singh's thirteen thousand strong army overpowered and martyred most of the mujahideen, along with both the leaders. This happened on 6th May, 1831.

It was during this year that in Poonch, many a Muslim rebels were caught and fleeced alive by the Dogra tyrants, who were vassals of the Sikhs at that time. The skins of the Muslim heros of Poonch were hung, filled with stuff, on trees, so that other Muslims may learn their lesson.

In 1846, the Sikh rulers of Lahore were defeated in the battle of Sabhraon by the British East India Company. According to the Treaty of Lahore, Kashmir fell to the British, but on 16th March, 1846, they sold it to Gulab Singh, who had been acting as an agent of the British, though he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army and also the Prime Minister of the Sikh Government. Kashmir was sold for a paltry sum of rupees 750,000.

But, when he went to Srinagar to capture it, the Governor, Sheikh Imamuddin and the Kashmiri forces resisted the onslaught, Gulab Singh was defeated and took to his heels. Most of his troops were killed by the Srinagar forces at Maisum, the area near the now well known Lal Chauk of Kashmir. Gulab Singh sought the help of British, the sellers of Kashmir and it was on 9th November, 1846, more than six months after the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar, that Kashmir was conquered by the joint forces of the East India Company and the Dogras.

Dogras ruled Kashmir for one hundred and one years with a heavy hand. The freedom movement was born in 1931. But earlier too, the Kashmiris, in one form or the other, kept on agitating against the Dogra rule. In 1924, the labourers of the Silk Factory of Srinagar put forth their demands. They were suppressed with a heavy hand by the troops. The Dogra cavalry charged on them in the Hazoori Bagh, now called Iqbal Park.

Earlier, many Kashmiris were drowned in the river Jhelum by the troops. An inquiry was ordered by Viceroy of India, but the Dogra Government managed to conceal the facts of the evidence. This did not satisfy the people affected and they continued to express their resentment against the autocratic and soulless despotism in their homeland.

It was during the year 1931 that incidents of discretion of the Holy Quran took place at many places in Jammu. The news reached Kashmir where angry demonstration took place. One such protest meeting was held at Khanqah-i-Mu'alla, which was also addressed by one Abdul Qadeer, an outsider and out of schedule. He used revolutionary language against the State and a case of sedition was registered against him. He was tried in the Srinagar central jail and when people demanded that he be tried in open court, they were fired upon. In the firing twenty two Kashmiris were killed on spot. This was on 13th July, 1931, known as the Kashmir Martyres Day, called an unprecedented day of Kashmir history by Prem Nath Bazaz, the eminent Kashmiri historian and writer. There was a great agitation at most of the places in the length and breadth of Jammu and Kashmir and more people, both men and women, were martyred. Thus, was born the freedom movement of Kashmir in the modern senses of the term. Till 1931, there was no freedom of press and platform, of association and formation of political parties in the State. Commissions of Inquiry were appointed on the intervention of the British Government of India. One such Commission was headed by Sir B.J. Glancy, who belonged to the Secretary of the State Department of British India. It had four members, one each from Jammu and Kashmir Muslims, one from Jammu Hindus and the other from Kashmiri Pandits. The recommendations it made included formation of a legislative assembly in the State and freedom of press, platform, and association in the State. Thus, the first political party of the Muslims, the All Jammu and Kashmir Political Conference was born in October 1932. Its first chief was Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and its first General Secretary was Ch. Ghulam Abbas. The first election to the Kashmir assembly, known as the *Praja Sabha*, took place in 1934. There were twenty one elected Muslims seats in a house of seventy five. Majority of the elected seats went to the Muslim Conference.

Since 1936, the Muslim Conference leaders started coming under the influence of the Indian National Congress, resulting in the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference. For all intents and purposes, the National Conference became an unofficial offshoot of the Hindu Congress. The speech of one of the leaders who converted the Muslim Conference into National Conference, was characterised by the Hindu Newspaper, *Tribune* of Lahore, as "the last nail in the coffin of Pakistan", because he had said that communalism, by which he meant the Muslims Conference which had Islam as its creed, had become old and it was a garment that had been torn into shreds and time had come to wear the cloak of nationalism.

But very soon the Muslim public revolted against the decision to convert the Muslim Conference into National Conference. Fourteen prominent leaders issued a joint statement against the conversion and demanded the restoration of the Muslim Conference, which was done by Sardar Gauhar Rahman and others. Some enthusiastic youngmen formed an All Jammu and Kashmir State Muslim League in support of the

Pakistan resolution of the Muslim League.

The Muslim Conference was revived in 1941, and in 1942. It was joined also by Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah and many pro-Muslim League people of Jammu and Kashmir. The All (Jammu and) Kashmir Muslim Students Union was also formed in Kashmir and it worked for the same ideals as the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah paid his third visit to Kashmir in May 1944, on the invitation of the Muslim Conference leaders and the National Conference Chief, Sheikh Abdullah. It was another landmark in the history of Kashmir. Abdullah had hoped that he would convince Jinnah that there was no need of a communal organisation like Muslim Conference in a Muslim majority State like Kashmir and that a nationalist organisation could lead Muslims and non-Muslims. Jinnah rejected this theory and gave his verdict in favour of the Muslim Conference and said that Abdullah's National Conference tried to deceive the non-Muslims of Kashmir as the Hindu Congress was trying to mislead the Muslims of British India. This pronouncement infuriated Abdullah who used foul language against the undisputed leader of the ten crore Muslims of India. In 1946, when anti-Muslims League leaders were cut to their size by the general elections of British India. Abdullah also found ground slipping from under his feet and started the Quit Kashmir Movement against the Maharaja. The purpose was not to drive out the Maharaja but to attain cheap popularity. But the movement failed and Abdullah was imprisoned. The issue of accession loomed large on the horizon of the State when Pakistan and India were born as free nations. Abdullah apologised to the Maharaja by letter from jail, and also met him as prisoner and assured him of his loyalty and apologised for his speeches and explained them away. The deal was struck with the intervention of M.K. Gandhi, who was sent to Kashmir by Mountbatten and Nehru. It was decided by the Maharaja on Gandhi's dictation that Abdullah be released on the condition that he would denounce independence of Kashmir as well as accession to Pakistan and support accession to India.

Azad Kashmir Government was announced in early October 1947 and reconstituted on 24th October in proper form by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. Muzaffarabad had been liberated on 22nd October and the Mujahideen reached the outskirts of Srinagar. The Maharaja ran away for good from Kashmir to Jammu and sought Indian armed help to which Nehru agreed on the condition that Abdullah would be made the administrator of the State. Indian army landed in Kashmir on 27th October, 1947.

Under pressure of the Mujahideen, India referred Kashmir issue to the UN Security Council, which passed a resolution on 21st October, 1948 that a free plebiscite under UN auspices could solve the issue of Kashmir's accession. This was reaffirmed by two resolutions of the UN Commission on 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949. But India despite committing itself to the plebiscite put impediments in the path of the plebiscite and this is because India is sure of a defeat in the plebiscite.

In 1988, the people of Kashmir, realising that freedom was not coming by conventional methods of agitation or election, took up the gun against Indian domination. This unique struggle of the people is continuing and is sure to continue till such time as the people of the State are not given the right to decide their future.

Since August 1990, the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) has been supporting the people of Kashmir. In December 1992, was formed the All Parties Hurriet Conference, which is an umbrella organisation of the people of Kashmir. It stands for solution of Kashmir issue according to UN Charter and relevant resolutions and does not rule out any option which is based on full-fledged right of self-determination of the people of the State. People of Azad Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir refugees in Pakistan, as also the people of the State in other parts of the world, are actively working for the freedom of Kashmir from Indian yoke.

We have seen that the Kashmir movement is not just eight years or fifty years old. It has been there for the last 178 years. The movement has become mature and is not confined to the State. It has become an international issue and will have to be solved not by force but by peaceful means. The sooner it is solved, the better it would be for all concerned.

INDIA MANIPULATED HIJACKING HER OWN AIRCRAFT TO BAN FLIGHTS OF PAK PLANES OVER INDIA IN 1971:

When Many of us were Duped

Back in 1971, when insurgency against Pakistan was going on in full swing in the former East Pakistan. Indian secret agencies master minded the hijacking of their own aircraft by a Kashmiri, Hashim Qureshi, to Lahore, Pakistan, with the instructions that the passengers should be left off and then the plane should be burnt, so that India got an excuse to ban flights of Pakistani aircraft over Indian airspace. The "Hijacker" was instructed to insist that he would not talk to anybody except Mr. Bhutto, then leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party and leader of his own party in the National Assembly of Pakistan. The conspiracy went on according to plan and India immediately banned flights of Pakistani aircraft from West to East Pakistan and vice versa.

When the rebellion was still going on, according to a booklet named *Mujib Fighting India's War*, was issued by Pakistan Publications, P.O. Box 183, Karachi, which started with a quotation from the speech of the forthright and frank admission of the General Secretary of the West Bengal Unit of the All India Congress Committee in New Delhi on 4th April, 1971 that "Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was fighting India's war.

Readers may be aware of the Agartalla case, which got the name because a meeting of East Pakistani secessionists met Indian agents at Agartala in West Bengal. The meeting of Indian agents and East Pakistani secessionists took place in India on 12th July, 1967.

When the Conspirators were actually arrested in December 1967, one of them revealed that, apart from the arms and financial aid, promised by India, for organising an armed revolt in East Pakistan, India had told them that on the "D-DAY". The Government of India will block the air and sea-routes linking East Pakistan with West Pakistan.

That was four years ago, but India did carry out that threat in February 1971, when the obviously preplanned hijacking and blowing up of an Indian aircraft on the soil of Pakistan by two hijackers from Indian held Kashmir was made an excuse for banning overflights of Pakistani civil aircraft across the Indian territory between West and East Pakistan.

After the publication of these passages in Mr. Sinha's book, there should be no doubt that the whole affairs was planned by Indian intelligence. The Indian Government did not contradict the story of Sinha till date. We are reproducing in these columns the relevant pages from the Samba Spying case for the benefit of our readers, more so because Mr. Hashim Qureshi is again active on the media front through Internet etc. in favour of India and against Pakistan. It was during 1971, that more evidence established that the hijacking was a feat of the Indian agencies, for instance:

1. Sheikh Abdullah, who was at that time against India, wrote a letter to his friend Jai Prakash Narayan (JP) that the hijacking was arranged by Indian agencies.

2. G.M. Sadiq, then Chief Minister of Kashmir, issued a statement to the press, saying that Indian Intelligence had done the hijacking and his government had not been consulted.

3. D.P. Dhar, Indian Minister of Policy Planning, came to know in Delhi that Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad was also coming to Delhi in the same plane, Ganga, as it was called. Dhar rang up his friend, Bakshi from Delhi advising him NOT to come to Delhi in that plane, because it would carry him elsewhere.

(news appeared in the daily *Aftab*, Srinagar)

In 1971, when the obviously pre-planned hijacking and blowing up of an Indian aircraft on the soil of Pakistan by two hijackers from Indian held Kashmir was made an excuse for banning overflights of Pakistani civil aircraft across the Indian territory between West and East Pakistan.

More light on the planned hijacking has been thrown by prominent Indian Journalist B.M. Sinha in his book named Samba Spying Case, published by Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Ltd., 5 Ansari Road, New Delhi, who praises the action as a patriotic plan of Indian agencies, who used Mr. Hashim Qureshi to do this job for India. The account of Mr. Sinha is very interesting and fascinating.

We are now lifting two relevant pages from the book *Samba Spying Case* of Mr. Sinha, so that we know how our nation was duped by India in the year 1971 when we were made to believe that "freedom fighters" had hijacked an Indian plane to bring the issue of Kashmir into international limelight, while the fact was that India had hijacked her own plane and the whole thing was a drama to separate East Pakistan from West Pakistan.

". . . to work for India which was then facing a serious problem due to heavy influx of refugees into West Bengal. A plan was then quickly prepared in consultation with the government. A part of the plan was disclosed to Qureshi who agreed to carry it out. It was a master stroke of cloak-and-dagger diplomacy.

"The plan was that Qureshi would be allowed to hijack an IA plane from Srinagar to a nearby airport in Pakistan with some passengers on board. He would create the impression that he was a member of the *Al-Fatah* and was hijacking the plane for liberating Kashmir from India; he would also demand the release of *Al-Fatah* saboteurs arrested in India. He would refuse to hand over the possession of the plane to the airport authorities unless Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, then the leader of the Opposition in Pakistan, came to see him. After the meeting with Mr. Bhutto he would blow up the plane. This, he was told, would establish his credibility with his Pakistan masters and help India at the same time. Since, the finalisation of the plan would take some time, he was sent to Bangalore to stay there in hiding. The J and K police had also come to know about his having entered the state and was looking for him everywhere. A senior police officer, Narendra Singh, had been deputed to search him out.

"Qureshi was called to Srinagar from Bangalore when the plan was ready. It was 30th January. He was allowed to sneak into Srinagar airport, with a friend, enter a Fokker Friendship plane carrying 26 passengers to Jammu. Soon after the plane took off he forced, the pilot, Capt Kachru, to divert it to Lahore airport. No sooner had the plane landed at the airport then the whole world was told about its hijacking. It was claimed that the Pakistan government was behind it. This worsened the already strained relations between the two countries. Qureshi did at the Lahore airport what he was advised to do: he claimed membership of *Al-Fatah* and demanded the release of 36 of its members detained in Kashmir if India wanted the plane back. The passengers were allowed to go out of the plane after two days. India refused to release the saboteurs. Qureshi was allowed to move about freely at the airport, use telephone and meet the press while his friend stayed in the plane. He insisted on meeting Mr. Bhutto who arrived to see him in his flamboyant manner. Qureshi talked to him for about five minutes by the side of the plane. On 2 February, Qureshi blew up the plane inviting a strong protest from India. The Pakistan government which offered asylum to Qureshi as a freedom fighter from Kashmir was blamed for the incident and it was asked to pay compensation for the loss India had suffered. All notable leaders in Pakistan condemned the burning of the plane, except Mr. Bhutto. The incident led to further bitterness in the relations of India with Pakistan. This gave India the long-awaited opportunity for the cancellation of the over-flight facilities for Pakistani planes. The plans of President Yahya Khan to send reinforcement to East Pakistan were thus frustrated. The United States then came to his rescue. It offered huge American planes to transport soldiers to East Pakistan via Sri Lanka and through the Himalayan ranges. But this operation was tortuous and difficult and considerably slowed down the arrival of Pakistan soldiers in Dacca.

"A senior government official who gave me the story said that those who had planned the hijacking of the IA plane were sure that Mr. Bhutto's involvement in the incident would lend credence to the propaganda that it had been planned by the enemies of India. The same officer also gave me the story of how the Pakistani soldiers had been let loose on the followers of Mujib after his historic speech on 25 March, 1971.

"The last time the Indian army was called upon to defend the country's freedom was in December 1971. The large-scale influx of refugees from the then East Pakistan as a result of President Yahya Khan's attempts to throttle democracy in his country had caused considerable problem to the Indian Government. Tension was developing between India and Pakistan from January 1971. The Yahya Government seemed determined to crush the popular movement led by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. He planned to send his trusted troops to East Pakistan by using the overflight facilities across India. His intention was to strike at the movement at the right time and crush it with one fell blow. While collecting information and material for this chapter, I came to know of the story behind the hijacking of an Indian Airlines Fokker Friendship aircraft around this time. Not many know that the hijacking was carefully planned by patriotic people in India to check the designs of the Yahya government.

"President Yahya Khan needed time to assemble enough troops in Dacca and neighbouring places. While hurrying planeloads of soldiers to East Pakistan, he held prolonged negotiations with Mujib to gain time as he had no intention of solving the political problem raised by Mujib's movement. The Indian government had come to know through its intelligence agencies about the real motive of the Pakistan President. It wanted to check the use of the overflight facilities by Pakistan air force. It could not be done without sufficient provocation as India still had normal diplomatic relations with Pakistan.

"But the transporting of troops to East Pakistan had to be suspended on some ground or the other to save Mujib's movement for Bangladesh from collapsing and his people from the savage clutches of a cruel military ruler. The Indian government made desperate efforts. It first contacted Mujib and told him about President Yahya Khan's real purpose of holding prolonged talks with him. But Mujib ignored the warning and continued holding negotiations. The Indian government deeply regretted the blunder Mujib was committing but it could not check him. It did not want to sit idle either. A plan was hurriedly prepared when a suitable opportunity arose.

"There was a double agent who operated both in India and Pakistan. His name was Hashim Qureshi. He first worked for India from Kashmir. He was given a job with the BSF and posted first at the Jammu airport and then at the Srinagar airport. When the National Liberation Front, a PLO type movement, was launched by one Mohammad Maqbool Butt from "Azad Kashmir" to ..... Kashmir from India, a decision was taken to send Qureshi to collect information about it. The movement, also called "Al-Fatah", had sent a number of saboteurs into Srinagar — 36 of them were arrested. Since Qureshi was familiar with the intelligence set-up in Pakistan it was believed that he would be able to operate without any difficulty. But soon after sneaking into "Azad Kashmir", he betrayed the Indian intelligence and defected to the Pakistan intelligence.

"Qureshi returned to India in the middle of January 1971 but despite his best efforts to keep his movements secret he was arrested by the BSF men on Kashmir border. When thoroughly interrogated, his real identity was disclosed and he revealed that he had been trained in Pakistan to hijack an Indian Airlines plane piloted by Rajiv Gandhi, elder son of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The disclosure was reported to the BSF Chief Rustomji who met Qureshi and talked to him further about the hijacking plan he had come to execute. By appealing to his sentiments, Rustomji won him over and persuaded."

THE PRESENT ORDEAL OF THE KASHMIRIS

We have seen that the people of Kashmir have been rendering greatest possible sacrifices for their freedom. During the pre-independence days, the Kashmiris resorted to agitation, jail-going and courting of arrest as was the way of doing things in British India. But, when the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was revived and it established full contact with the Quaid-i-Azam, the leader of the nation did not encourage jail going and the *Satyagraha* type of politics which had been initiated by the Indian National

Congress, which, to all intents and purposes, was a Hindu body. The stress of the ablest of the Muslims leaders of the subcontinent was on organisation and unity. Unity, faith and discipline were his watchwords and it was with the help of these that the Quaid achieved Pakistan. He also wanted the Kashmiri Muslims to unite, to have faith and do everything in politics in a disciplined manner.

But Muslim Conference of Kashmir was not an official branch of the All India Muslim League and the Quaid could only give guidelines to the Muslims of Kashmir. In addition to that, it may be noted that the Quaid was extremely busy with the national struggle of Pakistan and he could not be expected to supervise the minutest details of the policies being pursued by the Kashmiris.

The Quaid tried to go to Kashmir during the stormy days which followed the partition of the country and even before that, but the last British Governor General of Indian, Lord Louis Mountbatten, saw to it that impediments were created in the path of Mr. Jinnah's visit to Kashmir. The Maharaja was directed by Mountbatten not to receive Jinnah in Kashmir and he was advised to receive Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who had no official political status. A reluctant Maharaja received Gandhi and then happened what we have already discussed in these pages.

The Sikh hordes of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, captured Kashmir in 1819 and that was the year when the misfortunes of the Kashmiris started multiplying. We have given a glimpse of the Sikh rule of Kashmir, followed by 100 years of Dogra raj in the state. The Sikhs were followed by the Dogras, who were Hindus and not Sikhs, but, in order to affiliate themselves with the Sikh rulers of Lahore, adopted the suffix of Singh (lion) with their names and that is done by the Dogras even up to the present day. Thus, we had Gulab Singh, whose father was Ranjit Dev, without the suffix of Singh, but Gulab called himself Singh, followed by his son Ranbir Singh who was followed by Pratap Singh then Hari Singh and last but not the *Yauraj* (Heir Apparent) Karan Singh who could never ascend the throne, but became first the Regent of Jammu and Kashmir in place of his father, then *Sadr-i-Riyasat* or the "State-President" and later on Governor. His son is Ajat Shatru Singh who is just a minister in the cabinet Farooq Abdullah.

Trials and tribulations which the people Jammu and Kashmir have had to undergo during the pre-partition years and even after that time, have been discussed in these pages. But now, when many people believed that the freedom of Kashmir was a dream which would be realised soon, great tension has gripped the sub-continent of South Asia because of the Indian nuclear tests. The BJP government have made no secret of the fact that the nuclear developments of India are Pakistan oriented and the first target of frenzied policies and actions of India are going to be the people of Kashmir. During the elections, Mr. Vajpayee and other leaders of the BJP minced no words about their intentions regarding Kashmir and Azad Kashmir. They said that the article 370 of the Indian constitution, which gives Kashmiris some "paper autonomy" would be abolished and Kashmir would become a part and parcel of Mother India and all the children of Kali Mata (the goddess of death in Hindu mythology) could go to Kashmir, purchase immovable property there and also live their as Kashmiri people are doing. The right of state subjects only to own and purchase immovable property is one which is jealously guarded not only in Occupied but also in Azad Kashmir. But the Indian rulers want to undo it as a lamp is extinguished with a breath. The article 370 of the Indian constitution itself says that no change could take place in the article 370 unless the constituent assembly of Kashmir is in agreement with any such move from Indian President.

But the constituent assembly of Kashmir has not been in existence since 1957, when it sang its swan song and passed the so called constitution of Kashmir and then "ratified" the accession of Kashmir to India, which it had no right to do. The second thing which the Indian rulers desire is snatching away of Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan, which as recognized by the UN resolutions of the Security Council and the UN Commission for India and Pakistan are in the control of Pakistan. The words "Line of Actual Control" in the Simla Agreement itself denote that till the final settlement of the issue of Kashmir, these areas are in the control of Pakistan, but the power-mad leaders of India want to show disrespect to the UN Charter and the resolutions of the Security Council and wrest these areas from Pakistan by force.

Whether, the Indians can ever realise such a dream, is beside the point, but the intentions of the Indians are there, and that has intensified the anxiety and the mental strain of the people of Kashmir and their best friends, the Pakistanis.

It is well-known that a few thousand ill-equipped mujahideen are giving a virtual hell to the six lakh strong army and security forces of Bharat in Kashmir. It is to crush the few thousand mujahideen and the leadership of the All Parties Hurriet Conference, whom the Indian marauderers are keen to eliminate. Farooq Abdullah, the chief agent of the Indian army and the bureaucracy in Kashmir, suggested in a meeting, recently in Srinagar, where the Minister Home of India, L.K. Advani, was also present, that ground forces were not enough to achieve the end of the mujahideen of Kashmir. He said that gun-ship helicopters and also small aircraft should be used to eliminate the mujahideen in the hilly areas of Pir Panjal range.

L.K. Advani, who is himself Minister Home, has also taken the additional charge of Kashmir Affairs. Once upon a time, during the Janata (not BJP) Government, this post was held by George Fernandes.

Saxena is a former chief of the RAW and is known for his soullessness and ruthlessness.

According to a recent Kashmir Media Service Report from Srinagar, the High Command of the All Parties Hurriet Conference has said in Srinagar, that the lives of at least three leaders of the All Parties Hurriet Conference, Sayyed Ali Gilani, Khwajah Abdul Ghani Lone and Muhammad Yaseen Malik are in real danger and the authorities seem to have decided that the three leaders should be eleminated so that India gets rid of the Kashmir resistance movement in the Occupied State. It may be noted that in the past years, attempts have been made by the "sarkari militants" that is those renegades who are enjoying official patronage from the Indian army and the civil intelligence, to kill these three leaders. S. Hamid, a leader of the Peoples League, has been killed in custody, only recently. Rockets and hand grenades have been thrown on the homes of Ghani Lone and Ali Gilani and Muhammad Yasin Malik has been the victim of physical attacks on the roadside. He recently went to the Srinagar Central Jail and when some women, who also had gone there to meet their detained relations, were disgraced by the troops. Yasin protested but he was given a thrashing to such an extent that he had to go to the hospital. As regards Mir Waiz Farooq, former chief of the All Parties Hurriet Conference, his father was assassinated at his home in 1990 on 21st May and so far the Indian authorities have not been able to trace or arrest the culprits.

The situation in Kashmir is very disturbing. Mr. Kuldip Nayar, Indian journalist and politician, who was once the High Commissioner of India in the United Kingdom and writes profusely on the Kashmir issue and Indo-Pakistan relations in the Indian press, recently went with a team of human rights activists from India to the Valley of Kashmir for an on-spot study of the situation.

Mr. Nayar wrote an article when he reached back

New Delhi. Among other newspapers of India, the report appeared also in the weekly *Radiance* of Delhi, dated 23rd May, 1998. The writer has given harrowing facts about Kashmir. He says "for the last ten years, the people have undergone untold sufferings. There is hardly any family which has not lost a near and a dear one. Hundreds of people are still going from pillar to the post to inquire about the missing relatives. Interrogation Centres are the same old torture chambers. Many recall nostalgically the past when the Valley would be agog to receive tourists. And then they pose the question which they have posed again and again in recent months."

Mr. Nayar further says:

"Hundreds of people have been picked up by the authorities without any explanation. Even the court's order for release has no effect. The Kashmir Bar Association has tabulated the number of missing persons. It averaged 200 a month in 1997 and 225 a month in the first three months of 1998. Custodial deaths last year were 588, according to the Bar, instances of some one missing, someone getting electric shock or someone receiving merciless thrashing are so many that after hearing the complaints for some time you become numb. Incidents become numbers and the victims a subject."

Elections were held in September 1996 to the Kashmir Legislative Assembly in the hope that a civilian government would be formed and the undeclared martial law on Kashmir would come to an end, but that end has not come yet. To be sure, the atrocities of the Kashmiri people have been multiplied with the advent of the National Conference regime. It has added to the miseries of the Kashmiris. The Chief Minister is a convenient stooge in the hands of the Indian troops. When he, more than a year ago, announced in the legislature that a Human Rights Commission would be formed in Kashmir, also, and he was asked whether, that Commission could take up the question of denial of human rights to

Kashmiris and the various excesses committed by the forces on the Kashmiri people. Farooq dismissed it as impossible saying that the Assembly itself had come into being for the support which the Army gave to the elections in 1996, how could cases be registered and heard against such a "benevolent army". Thus, Farooq Abdullah and his ministers only whitewash the black deeds of the Indian troops. See what Kuldip Nayar has to say in his article quoted above. Says he:

"An elected government was expected to set into motion, a process of reconciliation. It is not yet there. Instead the MLAs (members of the legislative assembly) are generally afraid to go into the field. People feel let down because roads are full of patholes as before. No doctor or teacher goes to the countryside. Unemployment is rampant. Conditions are no better than before."

The new blood-thirsty government of India, intoxicated with its nuclear blasts, seems to be bent upon using the bulldozer on the public sentiments in Kashmir and is keen to crush the resistance movement. This is why G.C. Saxena has been chosen as Governor and Advani has taken the portfolio of Kashmir Affairs. The agenda of the BJP, and not of the so called National agenda of the coalition which was framed when the smaller and regional parties were enlisted into the alliance, is being implemented. The policy is to use the brute force against the Kashmiris, inside the Valley, near the Line of Actual Control. The "hot pursuit" has already started, with the killing of twenty two Azad Kashmiri innocents in the Bandala seri village of Bhimber district, a couple of months ago by the black cat commandos of India, who trespassed into the Azad areas across the Line of Actual Control in the dead of the nigh. These twenty two persons, including a child aged six months, were killed with soundless pistols and to make sure that they died, even knives were used on them. The Line of Control is threatened every day with incursions, firing and shelling and innocent people, including women and children, are killed in Azad Kashmir near the Cease Fire line. The situation is pretty dangerous and it is feared that war may break out between the two countries, any moment.

The Secretary General of the United Nations has announced that he has plans to visit the subcontinent and try to solve the issue of Kashmir, suffice it to say, the UN has failed to deliver goods in Kashmir. Its resolutions and plans for Kashmir have been flouted and trampled under feet by India. It is meaningless to suggest that the UN could interfere only when both the parties to the dispute agree to the mediation. The UN will have to sum up courage and abandon being bullied by a neo-fascist and neo-Nazi country, which has achieved nuclear capability by keeping its people semi-famished for many long years. If no action is taken right now by the UN, and by the dominating countries of the world body, to save humanity and the human race in Kashmir from complete annihilation and elimination, it may be very late.

Not only Kashmir and Azad Kashmir is threatened by the aggressive posture of the Indian rulers, even Pakistan is threatened. Many people abroad may not be knowing that the party which is now ruling India, is an out and out fascist party. It has an agenda of revivalism to complete. The moving spirit behind the BJP is the notorious RSSS, the Rashtrya Swayam Sevak Sangh, about which Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee says in the article he wrote for the issue of the weekly *Organiser* Delhi, dated May 5, 1995, that "RSSS is my soul". The strange theories propounded by the Hindu extremists are that once upon a time, almost the whole hemisphere of Asia was part of Greater Bharat. The parties like Arya Samaj, the RSSS, and the Vishal Hindu Parishad, known as VHP or World Hindu Organization have been working hand in hand with each other for the dream of dominating not only the sub-continent but many other states and lands around. Recently, two prominent members of the BJP said in a statement that Pakistan and Bangladesh should rejoin Bharat and the partition that was done against the wishes of the majority community of the Indian subcontinent, should be undone.

These are the strange dreams of these maniacs. We have been writing in the foregoing pages that the purpose of attack on Kashmir on 27th October, 1998 by Indian troops was only to weaken Pakistan and keep the Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir out of it. To cover and camoflage the imperialist intentions of Pandit Nehru, India's founder prime minister, a theory was invented that being a Kashmiri, Nehru had a special weakness and attachment for Kashmir. For the sake of argument, if this explanation is accepted, the question arises why did he attack Junagarh, Hyderabad and even Goa. Why did his daughter encourage the separatist movement of East Pakistan and help it in becoming Bangladesh? After all Nehru's ancestors did not belong to Hyderabad Deccan, East Pakistan and Junagarh.

It is time for the UN to act in Kashmir. No half-hearted attempts would succeed. During the last Great War, the freedom loving countries, who later on formed the United Nations, joined hands and dealt a crushing blow to the fascist and Nazi systems which not only posed a danger to peace but also deprived many European and other countries of their freedom. But the anti-human philosophy was ultimately crushed and eradicated. To bring the neo-fascist India to senses, strong and concerted action is needed. If the United Nations itself to be saved, action must be taken now. Mr. Kinkel, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, has rightly said that the nuclear tests of India are a slap on the face of the 149 countries which have signed the CTBT. The question is, how long are the western nations and the UN going to receive more slaps on their faces? They must swing into action right now and save Kashmir and Pakistan and also save the Untied Nations which has been brought into disrepute by the aggressive and intoxicated Indian leaders of the present and past years. It is time to ask India to implement the UN resolutions and demilitarise the State of Jammu and Kashmir. If she refuses to do so, action must be taken by the world body in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, if humanity is to be saved from an international holocaust.

KASHMIR IN A NUCLEAR SUBCONTINENT

Both India and Pakistan have become nuclear states. India out of its own desire initiated as it wanted to overawe her neighbours and dictate terms to Pakistan over Kashmir and other bilateral matters. India started her nuclear development from the very first year of its existence and as has now been proved, the purpose was to make India a great atomic power, whose purpose is to dictate terms even to the United Nation Organisation.

It would be interesting to note that when India was not yet free, its great Hindu leader, the Mahatma (lit: maha (great) and aatma (soul) Gandhi, once wrote in his journal *Harijan* that in his opinion, India would not need any army at all when it got *swaraj*, that is independence, because it would have no problems with any country of the world, far or near, great or small. What is more, he believed in the principle of *ahimsa parmodharma* (non-violence is the best religion).

But it is also a fact of history that the Kashmir problem, which has bedeviled the relations of India and Pakistan for the last more than fifty years, was largely a creation of the Mahatma. He had written to Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz of Kashmir in May 1934 that Kashmir was one day bound to be a Musalman State and the best thing for the Maharaja was to rule Kashmir as the Muslims wanted him to rule or by abdicating in their favour, but in 1947, just thirteen years after his writing this letter, himself went to Srinagar to persuade the Maharaja to join India and not Pakistan, nor remain independent. Thus, Gandhi succeeded where Mountbatten had failed, and where Acharya Kriplani, then Congress President had failed. And when the Indian Government accepted the bogus accession of Kashmir to India and the Indian army was sent to Kashmir to enslave it, Pandit Nehru got the blessings (*asheer waad*) to land the Indian army in Kashmir from the Mahatma himself. Another Indian, Lt. General L.P. Sen, who commanded the Indian troops in Kashmir in 1947 and onwards, writes in his book *Slender was the Thread* that when he, as a Colonel of the Army, was ordered to go to Kashmir, he also went to Gandhi to get his blessings before his departure to Kashmir on the mission of enslaving the poor Kashmiris. To be sure, even Sheikh Abdullah has written in his autobiography that when there seemed to be some reluctance in October 1947 to send Indian troops to Kashmir, he was himself in Delhi and he contacted the so called apostle of non-violence, M.K. Gandhi, to persuade the Government of India to send the Indian army to Kashmir.

The purpose of enslaving Kashmir was to weaken Pakistan, which had come into being against the wishes of the Hindu leaders. And they had accepted the emergence of Pakistan as a necessary evil, with bad intentions and mental reservations, and in their heart of hearts decided to undo Pakistan when they got the first opportunity. And the garbing of Kashmir without any legal or moral sanction, and without any democratic sanction, was part of their game to undo Pakistan, which has been manifested by them in all their actions and policies during the past fifty one years.

But Pakistan and the Kashmiris have smashed their machinations and dreams. It was India herself who took the issue of Kashmir to the UN Security Council and sought its indulgence under article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations and when the UN decided that a plebiscite under its auspices would decide the fate of Kashmir, India accepted the proposition, but has not allowed its implementation to date. She has flouted and disregarded the UN decisions and the powers that have been dominating the UN, have not been able to make India honour the UN decisions on Kashmir. India and her friend the former USSR made Kashmir a part of the global cold ward. The USSR veto was used against the Kashmiri people and they were not allowed to decide their own fate by a free vote. In order to flout the UN recommendations and make impossible the holding of the promised plebiscite, India made herself a nuclear power. Pakistan had to follow suit perforce because otherwise, her own existence and of the free territory of Azad Kashmir and also of Occupied Kashmir which Pakistanis consider a part of Pakistan, was threatened by nuclear India. Pakistan gave a befitting reply to India over the matter and blasted a higher number of nuclear bombs and this must have brought upstart leader to senses.

Not only Jammu and Kashmir, but also the whole of the subcontinent, is on the edge of a precipice. Before India went nuclear, it was hoped that USA President, Bill Clinton would come to the subcontinent and try to solve the issue of Kashmir in a manner that would be acceptable to India and Pakistan and also according to the wishes of the people of the State. His arrival, which was to take place in February last, was delayed because of the Indian elections, which brought the BJP maniacs to the forefront. And the BJP leader never made a secret of their anti-human and anti-Muslim sentiments and ideas. Very tactfully, they dripped the issue of nuclear blasts, that of construction of the Ram Mandir in place of the Babari Masjid, the issue of abolition of the article 370 of Indian Constitution and the annexation of Azad Kashmir with India, from the "National agenda" which was formulated in consultation with the regional parties, which were enlisted with the Alliance to share power at the Centre. But these nefarious intentions continued to remain on the BJP agenda and the BJP leader who was elected Chief of the Party in place of Lal Kishen Advani, made it clear at the time of his election that the BJP agenda about all these points was very much there. And we have seen that despite having the coalition partners in the cabinet, the BJP is going ahead with its own agenda and the smaller participants of the coalition have no say in policy matters. They are happy to share power and that is all.

Greatest responsibility developed on the great powers, who dominate the United Nations, to set matters right in Kashmir, if a great catastrophe is to be avoided. If a conflict starts between the two countries, it would not take much time to it to become a global war. We have seen that the two Great Wars were triggered by small events and they engulfed almost the entire world within a short period of time. Sixty years have passed since the second Great War started and weapons of mass destruction which can wipe out the major part of the human race and its civilisation, have increased manifold and got multiplied. It is, therefore, imperative that the United Nations Security Council session be called and on that level the case of Kashmir be taken up in right earnest. The UN and its dominant powers have thus, far allowed the situation to drift to a very dangerous point. The UN resolutions suggesting that Kashmiris would decide their own future and accession in a UN supervised plebiscite are very much there. If there are any drawbacks and loopholes in them, those can be rectified and then set right. Kashmir is a test case for the United Nations and sooner the action is taken the better. Some weeks ago, the Secretary General of the United Nations indicated that he wanted to come to the subcontinent to help in solution of the issue of Kashmir. This is a good intention but then qualifying such offers with the condition that they could mediate only if both parties agreed to it, makes the whole exercise meaningless. It is not the stage of mediation now because India is afraid of a verdict of the people of Kashmir and of a plebiscite. It is time for hard and fast action. If the subcontinent and the world peace is to be saved, the UN and the dominant powers will have to take more positive and straight forward action than beating about the bush. Inaction of the UN has brought matters to such an impasse, and it must act now, if humanity is to be saved and if UN itself is to be saved.

STRUGGLE FOR KASHMIR IS CONTINUING UNABATED

The enslavement of the people of Jammu and Kashmir started in the year 1819, when the Sikhs, who were ruling Punjab, gained sway over the Valley of Kashmir during the rule of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab. Ranjit himself could not go to Kashmir but his co-religionists ruled, in fact misruled, Kashmir Valley for twenty seven years and helped in its devastation. This period is known as Sikha Shahi in Kashmir.

On March 16, 1846, a week after the defeat of the Sikh regime at Sabhraon at the hands of the British East India Company, Kashmir Valley was sold by the Company to Gulab Singh, who had become the chief of Jammu in 1822, after the death of his father, Ranjit Dev. Gulab was in the Sikh army on a high post but was internally connected with British East India Company, who favoured him by the sale of the Valley to him at a throw-away price of seventy five lakh rupees. This sale took place in Amritsar, far away from Kashmir, between the Dogra and the East India Company. Kashmiris came to know of it only when Gulab went to Srinagar to capture it, but the Kashmiris and the Muslim Governor of the Sikhs resisted and Gulab and his troops had to run away, leaving their dead behind, only to return to Kashmir on 9th November 1846, along with reinforcement from the Company and thus, Dogras captured Kashmir on 9th November 1846, and misruled it for 101 years, when, in October 1947, the people of the State revolted and formed the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government, which spearheaded the movement of freedom in the State. Under pressure of the war of freedom, India was forced to take the issue to the United Nations Security Council for settlement under article 35 of the UN Charter. The Security Council dived deep into the background of the Kashmir conflict and came to the conclusion that the fate of the Muslim majority princely state of Kashmir, whose ruler was a Hindu, had been left undecided. Thus, the UN Security Council passed an elaborate and detailed resolution on 21st April, 1948 and decided that Kashmir issue should be resolved by a plebiscite under the United Nations. A Commission for India and Pakistan was set up to go to India and Pakistan and both parts of Kashmir to make on the spot study and recommendations and two resolutions, dated 13th August, 1948 and 5th January, 1949 were passed by the Commission, which were accepted by India and Pakistan, both. The proposal of holding a plebiscite after demilitarisation of the State was accepted by both countries and soon a Plebiscite Administrator was nominated by the UN in the person of Admiral Chseter Nimitz to supervise the plebiscite.

The UNCIP made strenuous efforts bring forth the withdrawal of troops which was a necessary requisite of then fair and impartial plebiscite. But, when the time of action came, India backed out and started making strange interpretations of the withdrawal of the troops. When there was a deadlock, the then President of USA and the then Prime Minister of UK, in a joint appeal urged Pakistan and India to accept the arbitration of the UN Plebiscite Administrator with respect to the points of disagreement. Pakistan jumped at the proposal and agreed to it, while India rejected.

Thus, from that day to the present day, India has been rejecting all suggestions of mediation, and settlement of the issue of Kashmir made from any quarter. She has refused to abide by the UN resolutions which were passed on her own request, she has rejected offers of the OIC and offers by the Secretary General of the United Nations, by countries which are friendly to both India and Pakistan, were outright rejected by India in the past and she is content with the best part of Kashmir, which she is holding without any democratic, legal or moral sanction.

Three wars have taken place between India and Pakistan in the past and two of them were directly connected with the dispute of Kashmir. For the last ten years, Kashmir, the Indian held part, has been undergoing a warlike situation. Sixty thousand youth of Kashmir have been killed, simply because they want their freedom and do not want to remain under the thraldom of India. They refuse to be called Indians and stress that their state had never been part of the country known as Bharat, in the distant or recent past. What is more, Kashmiri people never acceded to India, only the Maharaja, an individual who had fled from the seat of his government, in Srinagar to Jammu, his home town, in the dead of the night to escape the wrath of the people whom he and his ancestors had been treating as their subjects for a century. Same was the case of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, who was NOT a popular leader in 1947, as India would depict him to be. He had lost all the name and the fame which he had acquired in 1931, due to his opposition to the Pakistan movement and his position in Kashmir in 1946-47 was not any better than that of the pro-Congress Muslim leaders of India at the time of the partition of the sub-continent of South Asia. The depth of his popularity can be guaged from the fact that in the legislative assembly of Kashmir whose elections were held in January 1947, and which had thirty five seats nominated by the Maharaja and forty seats elected by the Muslim and non-Muslim population of the State, not a single member belonged to the party of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. The accession to India was based on the whims of these two individuals, one from Jammu and the other from Srinagar and wishes and sentiments of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir had never been taken into consideration.

India always knew that she was on a slippery ground in Kashmir and this is why when even Sheikh Abdullah revolted against the accession of Kashmir to India in 1953 and supported the right of self-determination of the people of the State, he was dismissed by his friend and patron, Nehru and put into detention of about ten years. Then a conspiracy case was launched against him on which lakhs of rupees were spent. A time, however, came when Sheikh Abdullah got tired and preferred to rejoin the fold of India. But his rejoining and his surrender to India was disowned by the people of Kashmir. It was on 28th February, 1975 that on the appeal of the then prime minister of Pakistan, a grand *hartal* was held on both sides of the cease-fire line and in Pakistan, and in the world, wherever, Kashmiris and Pakistanis resided, to condemn the unholy alliance of the opportunist leadership of Sheikh Abdullah and the machinations of the Indian Government in Kashmir.

In 1987, the Muslim United Front of Occupied Kashmir decided to partake in the elections to the State assembly and set up its candidates for forty three constituencies, but the Congress-I under leadership of Rajiv Gandhi and the National Conference regime under Farooq Abdullah, decided to keep the United Front out by hook or by crook. That was the turning point in the history of Kashmiris and they realised that no purpose would be served by trying for a revolutionary way out to influence the situation in Kashmir. The people of paradise on earth decided to take up the gun to uphold their lost right of self determination.

For the past ten years, the people of Occupied Kashmir have dismissed the impression that the Kashmiri are non-martial and docile people and that they cannot fight for their freedom. That notion has been dispelled for good and the whole world realises now that Kashmiris are a brave race who can go to any extent for their birthright of self-determination.

As regards Azad Kashmir, the people of this territory are like a rock behind their Kashmiri brethren and brave sisters. Very often, the people of Azad Kashmir give vent to their feelings about Kashmir by demonstrations, holding seminars and rallies and by addressing and handing over memoranda to the UN offices in Azad Kashmir and Rawalpindi. They demonstrate before the Indian High Commission in Islamabad, very often and also visit the foreign embassies in the capital of Pakistan to convey their concern to the high ups in the world about the events in Kashmir.

Demonstrations for the right of self-determination of the people of the State were started two decades ago in Lake Success, New York, in front of the UN Secretariat. This has since then, become a regular feature of the international activities of the Kashmiri people for their freedom.

Defence and Foreign Affairs of Azad Kashmir are, constitutionally, the responsibility of the Government of Pakistan, but the Azad Kashmir Government helps in the matter of projection of the issue of Kashmir abroad-whenever, it is required to do so, or, whenever, it gets a chance. Azad Kashmir is the show-window of the Kashmir freedom movement and as some say, the base camp of the freedom struggle. Very often foreign diplomats, journalists and mediamen come to Azad Kashmir and they are briefed about the Kashmir case by the President, the Prime Minister and other dignitaries of the Azad Kashmir Government. Delegations are now and then sent to the UN Commission for Human Rights, the OIC Contact group and other international gatherings where Kashmir issue is supposed to be discussed. The Prime Minister and members of the assembly and journalists of Kashmir have also been attending such international moots where Kashmir issue is discussed.

Azad Kashmir has its own parliamentarian form of government which was initiated in 1974, under the guidance of the Government of Pakistan, which is the paramount power in Azad Kashmir. Azad Kashmir has the best of working relationship with the Government of Pakistan.

The regimes of Azad Kashmir receive a huge deficit in legacy from the previous Azad Kashmir regimes, as is mostly the case, but even then, with the timely assistance from Pakistan, the Government cope with the situation and try to develop Azad Kashmir, economically and industrially. In 1947, when that on more occasions than one, Azad Kashmir is ruled by a party which is different from the one in power in Pakistan. The autonomy of Azad Kashmir has been not only tolerated but respected by the Government(s) of Pakistan, to whichever party they may have belonged.

In 1947, when the Dogra administration was overthrown from the territory by the people, there was one Inter College at Mirpur and one High School in Muzaffarbad, but now the number of colleges in the liberated territory is unbelievable high. There are two Universities in Azad Kashmir for spread of education and two Radio stations to project the Kashmir case and also to help in the cultural and social development of the liberated territory. Muzaffarabad and Rawlakote have been connected by air-service of the PIA with Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan.

An ably administered and economically and educationally developed Azad Kashmir is not only the requirement of the people of Azad Kashmir, it can also serve as a stimulator of the freedom movement of Jammu and Kashmir. Azad Kashmir is a free and democratic State. There is not a single political detenue in Azad Kashmir at all. Everybody is free to operate politically to his heart's content. All political parties and groups are free to function. There is no restriction on free expression of views on the platform and in the press.

All the parties and factions of Azad Kashmir, with their branches or head offices in Pakistan also, are united like a rock for the realisation of the right of self-determination according to the UN resolutions on Kashmir. A unique demonstration of the resolve of the people and the parties of Azad Kashmir was provided on 24th October, 1997, the people of the entire State of Azad Kashmir organised a human chain to express solidarity with their brothers and sisters who are fighting a real battle against India in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir. After all, unless and until the people of Jammu and Kashmir across the cease fire line are freed from Indian subjugation, the people of Azad Kashmir consider their own freedom incomplete. The people have every hope that, with the Grace of Almighty Allah, and support of the freedom loving peoples of the world, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and particularly the fraternal, moral and diplomatic support of Pakistan, the people of the State will ultimately get a chance to decide their future in an impartial, and fair plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations and in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and the day is not far off when by exercising their right, the people of Jammu and Kashmir will make their homeland a part and parcel of Pakistan.

PAKISTAN — INDIA TALKS ON KASHMIR

Even, when India had not invaded Kashmir and made it her part forcibly, Pakistan desired that the issue of the future of Kashmir State should be decided by peaceful means. The Governor General Designate of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and other leaders of the Muslim League advised the

Maharaja to keep the wishes of his people and the geographical position of Jammu and Kashmir in view while deciding the future status and the accession of Kashmir. But all this fell flat on the feudalist Maharaja and he did what he did by way of conspiracy with his Hindu co-religionists. He was led into believing that his throne and the State would be safe by joining India but both things did not happen. He lost his *gaddi* (seat of power) within months of the forced accession and the State itself was ruined. The ruin is continuing to this day, thanks to the Maharaja's own hasty action.

India internationalised the Kashmir issue by rushing to the UN Security Council and sought their indulgence. When the Council proposed a UN supervised plebiscite, India was at a loss. Secret correspondence of Pandit Nehru has been published by the Oxford University Press in New Delhi. Of the many sensational letters, one is from Pandit Nehru to Sheikh Abdullah, written on 12th January, 1949, that is, within one week of the passage of the second resolution on Kashmir by the UN Commission for India and Pakistan. In it, Nehru wrote back to Abdullah, who had expressed the fear that they (India and Kashmir National Conference) could not win the plebiscite, that he need not worry as the plebiscite would never actually take place. At the same time Nehru wrote to him that he should not divulge this secret view to the public because then India's position would be challengeable in the world. (See Selected works of Jawahar Lal Nehru, second series Vol. 22, April 1953 to June 30, 1953, edited by Ravindar Kumar and Sharad Pawar, Jawahar Lal Nehru Memorial Fund, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998).

Nehru informed Abdullah that he had changed his mind about the plebiscite in November 1948, but was publicly paying lip service to self-determination and plebiscite to keep western powers and the UN in good mood.

Nehru always had a guilty conscience about

Kashmir. The best thing for him, would have been to leave the Maharaja alone, to decide the issue with his people. But Indresh Kumar, writing in the weekly *Organiser* Delhi of February 1998, has disclosed that in the middle of October 1947, that is about two weeks before the armed invasion of Kashmir by India, Sardar Vallahbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, accompanied by the RSSS leader, Golwalker, went to Srinagar in a special plane and met the Maharaja and his Prime Minister Justice(r) Mehr Chand Mahajan, and persuaded him to join India. He agreed but requested that ten thousand RSSS volunteers be sent to Kashmir to crush the Muslims who did not favour accession to India. This was done, says Sheikh Abdullah in his book *Aatash-i-Chinar* that under orders of the Maharaja, the arms and ammunition to the RSS marauders were distributed from Dogra army depots. Thus, they started a massacre of Muslims in the State before the army invaded Kashmir and even after that.

Indian rulers, who had a secret agenda from the very beginning about Kashmir, avoided talking to Pakistan. Even Joseph Korbel, author of *Danger in Kashmir*, (who was the chairman of the UNCIP and also the father of the present USA Secretary of State, Mrs. Madeline Albright), has said that instead of rushing to UN with a complaint against Pakistan, the Indian rulers should have talked to Pakistan Government direct.

Pakistan has bitter experience with respect to the talks on Kashmir. They always foundered on the rock of Indian intransigence. The talks that started in 1963 at the instance of the then US President, were held in six round, three in Pakistan and three in India. But, when the Chinese danger to India was averted, India brazen-facedly said Kashmir was an inseparable part of India and, therefore, not negotiable.

With all that, on coming to power, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan, persuaded his counterpart in India to talk on Kashmir and other Pak-

India issues and problems, which was agreed to by India, reluctantly. When India went nuclear, she declared emphatically that there was no question of any talks with Pakistan on Kashmir. But, when Pakistan replied to India in the same coin and made her own six nuclear blasts, India agreed to talk on Kashmir. Talks started on Foreign Secretaries' level and they culminated in the summit in Lahore on 20th and Ist February, 1999, where three documents, the Lahore Declaration, the Joint Statement and the Memorandum of Understanding were signed, the first two by the Prime Ministers and the last one by secretaries. In two of the three, it has been said clearly that Kashmir issue would be solved according to the Simla Agreement.

Some people have termed it as retrogression and others say that the Simla Agreement rules out the UN resolutions on Kashmir. This is not correct and, in fact, is the Indian interpretation of the Simla Accord. The matter of fact is that the operative clause of the Simla Agreement starts with the sentence that relations between Pakistan and India will be governed by the Charter of the UN. The resolutions on Kashmir, whether those of the Security Council or the Commission, are according to the UN Charter. The UN Charter itself says in article 103, that agreements arrived at by nations cannot supersede their agreements in the UN and where there is a conflict between the two "their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail".

What is more, it has been said in the Simla Accord that the renaming of the Cease-fire Line in Kashmir as the Line of Actual Control, will not jeopardise the recognised stand of India or Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. While India's claim is that the whole state is her part. Pakistan's policy is that the entire State is disputed and its future is to be decided by a plebiscite under UN auspices. No doubt, Simla agreement binds the two countries to a peaceful solution. but that is also what the UN resolutions on Kashmir say. What is more. the mere fact that India and Pakistan are members of UN. means that they will solve the issue of Kashmir in a peaceful manner.

In fact. one cannot say that all of a sudden the Indian leaders have become saints and that they are ready to make amends with their relations with Pakistan on Kashmir. The fact is that the unprecedented sacrifices and the fight of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. and the support they enjoy in the world have forced the Indian leaders to reconsider their position on Kashmir and talk to Pakistan. There is thus. pressure from inside Kashmir. where the more than six hundred thousand Indian troops are bearing the brunt of the attacks of the few thousand but brave mujahideen. where thousands of people are holding political demonstrations day in and day out. there is pressure from within India and human rights organisations and honest and intelligent men and women are advising India to put an end to her forced rule of Kashmir. there is pressure from the world. which has come to know of the facts of the Kashmir case and is pressurising the Indian Government to see reason on Kashmir.

The nuclearisation of India. and subsequently of Pakistan. has also added to the urgency of the Kashmir problem. The P5. the UN Security Council. the G 8. the 114 member Non Aligned Movement and the 55 member OIC have thrown their weight in favour of a peaceful solution of the Kashmir problem. 185 out of the 186 members of the General Assembly of the UN. are urging India to talk to Pakistan. talk to the people of Kashmir and solve the issue of Kashmir in accordance to the wishes of the people of the State.

India may not be sincere in the talks. So what? The All Parties Hurriet Conference. other active elements of the population of Kashmir and the mujahideen have not abandoned their struggle for a solution of the issue of Kashmir. The Government of

Pakistan, the opposition and all the parties of Pakistan have made it clear to the world that there is no question of backing out unless a just solution of the issue of Kashmir is brought about. By talking to India, without sacrificing or compromising our basic principles, we are gaining international goodwill and defuse the Indian propaganda that we are keen to force a military solution on Kashmir. Pakistan's and Kashmiris's stand on Kashmir is consistant and based on principles. Indian stand has been opportunistic. She advocated a referendum and a plebiscite in early 1948, but, as shown by the letter of Nehru quoted in the beginning of this write up, changed her views in November of the same year. Look at the BJP regime, which may have breathed its last before these lines appear in print. BJP in its election manifesto in beginning to 1998, had said that it would, on coming to power, abolish the article 370 of the Indian Constitution which grants internal autonomy to Kashmir. BJP leader Vajpayee had also said in his election speeches that even Azad Kashmir would be snatched from Pakistan by military action. But he could do neither this nor that. Instead, circumstances forced, him to come to Pakistan and declare at Minar-i-Pakistan that Pakistan had come to stay and that they wanted good relations with this country.

We have to take notice of the public commitments which the Indian leaders made in their official declarations in Lahore, and not what they say to their constituencies, whom they had duped in the elections by lofty promises about Kashmir and Azad Kashmir. The whole world, including the Super Power, America and our great friend and neighbour China have welcomed the Lahore parleys. Pakistan is urging the participation of the UN or some other mutually agreed third party in the talks, so that India does not play foul, as she always has been doing. Even, when wars take place between nations, talks and negotiations are also held and agreements and treaties are concluded. There were talks between Vietnam and USA, between USSR and Afghanistan. France and Algeria. between Bosnia and their opponents the Serbs through the UN and otherwise. The UN solved the question of South Africa with prolonged talks between the parties. There were talks with the British when Pakistan and India became free ultimately. We do not wholly and solely depends on the talks, but it is not to be denied that problems have to be resolved by talks, war or no war.

The question of Kashmir is not only one of human rights, as some would want the world to believe. It is basically a question of the right of self-determination. In fact, political and human rights are linked with each other inseparably. Of late, we have been hearing of economic terrorism perpetrated by the Indian and its puppet regime in Kashmir on the people of Indian held Kashmir and that is very correct. India is following a scorched-earth policy in Kashmir so as to force the Kashmiris. penurise and penalise them so that they are subdued into submission. To combat this. all sections of the population in Indian held Kashmir joined hands against this, and those who agitated even included government servants and labour and other professional and trade union organisations. Political issues and human rights do not exist in a vacuum but in the human society, which is complex and interwoven. The struggle of freedom is to be seen in that context. When All India Muslim League was fighting the battle of Pakistan on the political front in British India, there were a number of auxiliary organisations of employees, labour and others who were looking after the professional interests of the Muslim employees. There were educational institutions and organisations, which were serving the community in their respective fields and extending a helping hand to the League in one way or the other.

Pakistan has rightly been stressing that a third party should be included in the talks. The third party would monitor the talks and if they fail, apportion blame for their failure and extend its helping hand to solve the problem, which seems to be thorny and difficult, but is not at all difficult if Indian leaders sum up the courage to undo the wrong, they have done to Pakistan since its very birth by invading Kashmir and to Kashmiris by standing in their way to express their own opinion about the future shape of things of their homeland.

It is hoped that the sincere sacrifices of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, and the concerted efforts and endeavours of Pakistan, and the world support to the freedom struggle of Kashmir will ultimately bear fruit and India will have to quit Kashmir lock stock and barrel, as the British had to quit the sub-continent and as India's friend, the USSR, had to quit Afghanistan for good. The earlier India withdraws from Kashmir the better it would be for all concerned including herself.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. That Gulab Singh was in league with the British for a long time. is clear from lot of contemporary evidence. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz quotes Willim Edwards as having written in *Reminences of a Bengal Civilian, p. 104, that* "Gulab Singh urged the (Sikh) Army not to attempt attacking the British until he joined them and this he evaded doing on one pretext or another knowing full well that in due time the British would attack and capture the position at Subraon". p. 122 of the *History of Struggle from Freedom* by Prem Nath Bazaz.
2. The Dogra Maharaja could not conclude any treaty with any other country. nor employ any European. including the British. in his army or civillian administration. The number of the troops he could maintain was also subject to the directions of the Defence Department of the British Indian Government. This is the spirit that runs through the Treaty of Amritsar and the directives which were sent to the Kashmir Government later on by the British Indian Government.
3. See *Kasheer*. Vol. I by Ghulam Mohiuddin Soofi. published by the Punjab University. Lahore. p. 3.
4. *Rajatarangni* (The River of Kings) is the book on Kashmir history written by the poet historian of Kashmir. Kalhana Pandit. in Sanskrit language. which was the official language of Kashmir Government at that time. The book was completed in 1148 A.C. The English Translation of this book was published by M.A. Stein in May 1900. that is ninety eight years ago from England. The Verinag Book Depot of Mirpur Azad Kashmir. has reprinted the book some years ago. Like all old books of history. it is a history of kings. more than that of the people. What is more. it has mixed Hindu mythology

with history. Some of the "facts" are fantatstic. For instance, in verse 104 of Book I, the author of *Rajtarangni* says that King Asoka (of Kashmir) founded the city of Srinagari which has ninty five lakh houses. The location of that city, Srinagri is said to be five miles to the South of the present city of Srinagar. That place is now called the village Pandrethan, whose population at present may be hardly two thousand. It is unimaginable that it should have had ninty five lakh houses about three thousand years ago. If five persons live in one house, the population of that town must have been nine crores and fifty lakhs. There are some other discripancies in this book, but this is the only existing record of Kashmir's political history. The present city of Srinagar, was founded by Raja Parvarsen, two thousand years ago.

5. From *Kulyate* Iqbal, *Farsee*, published by Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, Lahore.
6. From *Kashmir* by Francis Younghusband, as quoted by Ghulam Mohiuddin Soofi, in *Kasheer*, published by the Punjab University, Lahore, Vol. I.
7. *The Valley of Kashmir* by Sir Walter Lawrence.
8. *An Introduction to Kashmir* by M.B. Pithawalah, published by Kashmir Publications, Muzaffarabad Azad Kashmir, p. 4
9. Article on the holy Relic of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in Kashmir, in weekly *Insaf* by Kh. Nooruddin Dar, December 1963.
10. Pithwala, pp. 8, 9.
11. Ancient history of Kashmir is mixed with Hindu mythology but the thing that comes out glaringly is that Kashyap Rishi caused the water of the great lake that kashmir was, known as *Sati Sar*, to flow out to the plains of the Punjab and people from all fours came down to the new Valley as settlers.
12. See *Hikayate Kashmir* by Muhammad Din Fauq Kashmiri.

13. From *Kalame Fauq* by Muhammad Din Fauq, poet and historian of Kashmir.
14. Bazaz, *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, pp. 49, 50.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
16. Sayyed Ali Hamadani, who converted majority of Kashmiris to Islamic religion, had to migrate from his home town, Hamadan in Iran to Kulab, now in Tajikistan, as there were differences between him and Taimur, the lame Emperor. Ali Hamadani is said to have been directed by the Prophet of Islam (May Peace and Blessings of Allah be upon him) in his dream in Madina Tayyibah to go to Kashmir and preach Islam there. Eminent Pakistani/ Kashmiri historian Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani is of the opinion that the differences between Taimur and Ali Hamadani were over before the later's death and the masoluem of Ali Hamadani was built under orders of Taimur, in Kolab (Kulyab) Khatlan, now a province of Tajikistan.
17. *Javed Namah*, by Allama Iqbal, talks very highly of Hazrat Sayyed Ali Hamadani, also called Shah-i-Hamadan by Kashmiris.
18. Naukote village, where a grave was dug for Ali Hamadani as he died there, but was not buried as his bodily remains were carried to Kulab in Khatalan, is itself a sort of *ziarat* or place of pilgrimage. Whose ziarat it really was established by the research of the Shah-i-Hamadan Association and an epitaph was placed at the grave by Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, the then President of Azad Kashmir Government, denoting that the grave had been dug for Ali Hamadani, the great saint, in 1385 A.C. Corresponding to 786 A.H.
19. Not many lyrics or *ghazals* of Habba Khatoon, whose Kashmiri name was Zoon (meaning the Moon), the poet queen, are avilable in Kashmir. But those few ones, which are available, are very typical and heart-ravishing and are sung by Kashmiris, musicians and others, even now with relish.

20. The late Professor Muhammad Saifuddin Asimov (Asimi) of the Dushanbe Academy of Sciences. Tajikistan recited this verse and many other verses in Tajik (Persian) to me when we were there in Tajikistan in the year 1995. in connection with the International Shah-i-Hamadan Conference.
21. See *Alamdar-i-Kashmir Sheikh Nooruddin Wali* published by Kashmir Cultural Centre. Rawalpindi with translation of Kashmiri verse in to Urdu verse.
22. *Kasheer* by Dr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Soofi. Vol. II. p. 726.
23. Saraf. p. 77. quoting Moore. who "prophesied" that Kashmir Muslims would be enslaved by Hindus for generations to come.
24. Saraf. p. 79.
25. Syed Abul Hasan Nadvi. *Seerat Sayyed Ahmad Shaheed*. p. 424.
26. See Report in weekly *Insaf*. Rawalpindi. 1968 on installation of Monumenty at Mung village. Sudhnuti. Poonch. Azad Kashmir.
27. *Kashmir on Trial*. published by Kashmir National Conference from Lahore in 1946.
28. Saraf. p. 190
29. Rasheed Taseer. in *Tahreek-i Hurriat-i-Kashmir*. Vol. I. p. 48.
30. Dr Khwahja Hameed Yazdani. in his book *Kashmir ke Farokht*. Sang-i-Meel Publications. Lahore, p. 51.
31. *Ibid*.. See text of Treaty of Amritsar. pp. 47-49.
32. Monthly *Freedom*. Rawalpindi. pp. 1-2. 10th February. 1959. edited by Mir Abdul Aziz.
33. Rasheed Taseer. *Tahreek-i Hurriyat-i-Kashmir*. Vol. I. p. 55.
34. Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq. in *Kalam-i-Fauq*.
35. Saraf p. 206. also Sheikh Abdullah in *Aatash-i-Chinar*.
36. Bazaz. *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*. p. 132.
37. Bazaz. p. 32.
38. Sarwar Abbasi. *Kashmiri Musalmanoon ki Jido Juhad-i-Azadi*. p. 38.
39. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. in *Aatash-i-Chinar*. p. 38.

40. *Adabi Dunya, Iqbal Number* Lahore, July 1967, article by Muhammad Abdullah Qureshi, pp. 196-211.
41. Sarwar Abbasi, p. 49.
42. Bazaz, p. 134.
43. Bazaz, p. 144, for full text of the Heriditary State subjects Act, which became law on 31st May, 1927, see the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir published by Law Department of Kashmir.
44. Abdullah, *Aatash-i-Chinar*, p. 44.
45. Bazaz, p. 142.
46. Abdullah, p. 46.
47. Sawar Abbasi, pp. 66-67.
48. Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas in his autobiography *Kashmakash*.
49. Sawar Abbasi, p. 80.
50. Ch. Ghulam Abbas, *Kashmakash*, p. 60.
51. Chaudhry Zahoor Ahmad in *Kashmir Ki Kahani*
52. *Ibid.*, enumerating the demands of the All India Kashmir Committee.
53. Abdullah, p. 145.
54. Bazaz, p. 179.
55. Iqbal in *Kuliyate Iqbal Faarsi*, published by Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons Lahore.
56. *Adabi Duniya, Iqbal Number*, article of Abdullah Qureshi.
57. Bazaz, pp. 182-184.
58. Bazaz, pp. 175.
59. Sarwar Abbasi, pp. 273-275 and also see *Kashmakash* by Ch.Ghulam Abbas.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
62. Abbasi, p. 289.
63. Bazaz, in *Inside Kashmir, p.* 331.
64. Jammu and Kashmir Praja Sabha Debates 25th October 1940, Jammu as quoted by S. Abbasi pp. 4-14.
65. Abbasi, pp. 290.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, p. 293, also *Kashmakash* by Ch. Ghulam Abbas.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

69. *Muslim Naujuanan-i-Kashmir Ki Bedari*, published by Gen. Secretary Jmmu Kashmir Muslim Students Union, Srinagar, in 1946. See also Sarwar Abbasi, p. 303, who says that the Muslim Students organisations were supportive of two nation theory even before the revival of the Muslim Conference.

70. Bazaz, p. 203.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

72. Mir Aziz, *Muslim Naujuanan-i-Kashmir Ki Bedari*.

73. Professor Khawaja Abdussamad in his book *Pak-Kashmir*, pp. 155-161.

74. Bazaz, p. 210, *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*.

75. Bazaz, p. 212.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 246 and Mir Aziz in *Muslim Naujuanan-i-Kashmir Ki Bedari*.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 217. It is very strange that an authentic writer and historian like Prem Nath Bazaz, who has himself gone through the mill of Kashmir politics, should have given 1945 as the year of passage of the New Kashmir manifesto of the National Conference. The present author (Mir Aziz) was, as Editor of the weekly *Millat* Srinagar personally sitting in the press gallery of the National Conference session in Mujahid Manzil Srinagar in September 1944, when the New Kashmir Manifesto was adopted after much discussion. It was an occasion when the infighting of the Congress Socialists and the Communists in the National Conference also delayed the discussions.

    The exact dates of the annual session of the National Conference were 28, 29 and 30th September, as has correctly been written by Professor Khwajah Abdussamad, author of *Pak Kashmir*, as also by Rasheed Taseer, author of *Kashmir Ki Tahreek-i-Azadi*, Vol. II.

    The annual session of the Kashmir National Conference in 1945, (ten months after the passage of "New Kashmir" was held in the first week of August, 1945, in Sopore, twenty miles to North of Srinagar, soon after the ill-fated "River procession" of the Congress Leaders on Ist August. In that, Nehru, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mian Iftikharuddin, Indira Gandhi also participated. No Indian leader attended the session of September 1944, in which the New Kashmir manifesto was adopted, by the National Conference, because there was none of them in Kashmir at that time.

Sheikh Abdullah has, in his *Aatash-i-Chinar*, written a full chapter on the *Naya Kashmir* manifesto. It is however, funny, that he has not given the dates, the month and not even the year of its adoption, though he has termed the adoption one of the landmarks of the freedom struggle. It may be said that since Abdullah wrote his autobiography while in Jail, he could not check up the dates. But the fact remains that this book was edited by Muhammad Yousuf Teng, a noted Kashmiri writer, during Abdullah's lifetime and its publication was supervised and arranged by Begum Sheikh Abdullah and Farooq Abdullah. Even they did not care to put in the date and year of passage of the manifesto.

The manifesto, called *Naya Kashmir* is an exact replica of the Russian (Soviet) Constitution. And this is so, because in those days, being a Socialist or Communist was not only a fashion, but Abdullah himself was slowly and surely coming or had already come, under the influence of the Communists and Socialists. On page 300 of his book, Abdullah has admitted that in order to compile the manifesto "We(Abdullah and party) sought the services of our well-known progressive friend B.P.L. Bedi, Dr. Muhammad Din Taseer, K.M. Ashraf, Danial Latifi and friends like Ehsan Danish (the poet) also helped us in compilation of the manifesto. The intelligent and decent wife of Bedi Sahib (Fareeda Bedi) typed out the draft and the National Conference leaders adopted it."

Just imagine, the manifesto was presented to the Maharaja so that he could implement it. This has been said by Abdullah on the same page of his book. How on earth could a feudal lord like Hari Singh implement a socialist or a communist manifesto, only an opportunist like Abdullah could explain.

78. Professor Karam Haideri in his book *Musalmanan-i-Bare-i-Sagheer ki Azadi mein Muslim League ka kerdar*, pp. 166-170.

79. C. Bilquees Taseer, wife of Dr. M.D. Taseer, in her book *Kashmir of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah*, and in an article, also proudly says that her husband was associated with the compilation and authorship of the New Kashmir manifesto of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah's Party. Taseer was the principal of the Amar Singh Degree College, Srinagar at that time, pp. 144, 175, 275.

80. Khwajah Ghulam Ahmad Pandit in his autobiography *Kashmir Azadi ki Dahlez par* (Kashmir on the threshold of freedom), published by Jang Publishers, Lahore.

81. Abbas in *Kashmakash*, wherein he says that purpose of Quit Kashmir agitation was to make Kashmir another Azerbaijaan or another "Frontier Province", It may be noted that at that time NWFP was under the agents of the Hindu Congress who wanted to keep it out of Pakistan.

82. Abbas in *Kashmakash*, Bazaz in *Struggle for Freedom*.

83. Abdullah in *Aatash-i-Chinar*, p. 368.

84. Saraf, p. 700 and Bazaz, p. 266.

85. *The Guardian* weekly of *Lahore*, March 1950 published by Mirza Aziz Beg Chughtai, containing an article from K.H. Khurshid, who was also co-editor of the weekly *Guardian* and former Private Secretary to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

86. Bazaz, p. 343.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 274 and White Paper issued by Government of Pakistan in 1976

88. Mushtaq Ahmad in *Jehad-i-Kashmir*, published from

Lahore and also daily Hamdard Srinagar, Kashmir, dated 16th August, 1947.

89. Rasheed Taseer in *Tahreek-i-Hurriyate Kashmir*, Makhdoom Mandav, Srinagar, Kashmir.

90. Kh. Ghulam Ahmad Pandit, in *Kashmir Azadi ki Dahlez Par*, p. 149 and also Ch. Ghulam Abbas in his autobiography *Kashmakash*.

91. Bazaz, p. 274, For more details, see Saraf pp. 766, 767 and 768.

92. Dr. Karan Singh, first and last Sadri Riyasat of Kashmir in his book. '*The Heir Apparent*'.

93. Abbas in *Kashmakash*.

94. See paper on Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah by Mr. Salimullah Khan, read by him in the International Quaid-i-Azam Seminar arranged by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and published by Dr. Riaz Ahmad, Quaid-i-Azam Chair, organiser of that seminar, in book form entitled *Quaid-i-Azam and Kashmir*.

95. A.H. Suharwardy in *Tragedy in Kashmir*.

96. Sarwar Abbasi, *Kashmiri Musalmanoon ki Tareekh*, p. 455.

97. Details in the file of weekly *Insaf*, Rawalpindi.

98. Khutbat-i-Sher-i-Kashmir (Speeches of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in Jammu in November, 1947), compiled in book form by the then ruling National Conferenc, of Kashmir and referred to by Bazaz in *the History of the Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*.

99. Bazaz, Prem Nath, p. 335.

100. *Reports on UN Representatives or Kashmir*, published by UN, containing the report of Sir Owen Dixon, Australian Jurist.

101. *White Paper on Kashmir* issued by the Government of Pakistan in 1976 and also *Aatash-i-Chinar* of Sheikh Abdullah which contains a detailed chapter on the Constituent Assembly, p. 533.

102. Sheikh Abdullah in *Aatash-i-Chinar* pp. 560-561 dealing with the Jammu agitation against his Government.

103. Sibtain Tahirah, in her book *Kashmir and the United Nations*, page 132, Former Defence Minister of India, Krishna Menon, was the Indian representative in the UN Security Council in 1964. On February 5, 1964, he said:" "I wish to make it clear on behalf of my Government that under no circumstances can we agree to the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir."

The author proceeds to say: Why India has persistently refused to hold the plebiscite in Kashmir was explained by the former Indian Defence Minister, Krishna Menon, who said that:

"Kashmir would vote to join Pakistan and no Indian Government agreeing to plebiscite would survive." This is straight from the official record of the UN Security Council and the fear of a defeat in plebiscite in Kashmir is not allowing the Indian Government(s) to hold the plebiscite and get self-condemned.

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105. *Insaf* weekly dated 26th October, 1982, and paper read out by Mir Abdul Aziz in the Institute of Policy Studies in Islamabad in 1992 and circulated by the said Institute.

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APPENDIX-I

RESOLUTION ON THE INDIA—PAKISTAN QUESTION SUBMITTED JOINTLY BY THE REPRESENTATIVES FOR BELGIUM, CANADA, CHINA, COLOMBIA, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 286TH MEETING HELD ON 21ST APRIL, 1948.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having considered the complaint of the Government of India concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir, having heard the representative of India in support of that complaint and the reply and counter complaints of the representative of Pakistan;

Being strongly of opinion that the early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about cessation of all fighting;

Noting with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite;

Considering that the continuation of the dispute is likely to endanger international peace and security;

Reaffirms the Council's Resolution of January 17th;

Resolves that the membership of the Commission established by the Resolution of the Council of January

20th. 1948, shall be increased to five and shall include in addition to the membership mentioned in that Resolution, representaive of ..... and ..... and that if the membership of the Commission has not been completed within ten days from the date of the adoption of this Resolution the President of the Council may designate such other Member or Members of the United Nations as are required to complete the membership of five;

Instructs the Commission to proceed at once to the Indian sub-continent and there place its good offices and mediation at the disposal of the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to facilitating the taking of the necessary measures, both with respect to the restoration of peace and order and to the holding of a plebiscite by the two Governments, acting in co-operation with one another and with the Commission and further instructs the Commission to keep the Council informed of the action taken under the Resolution, and to this end;

Recommends to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following measures as those which in the opinion of the Council are appropriate to bring about cessation of the fighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to accede to India or Pakistan.

A·—RESTORATION OF PEACE AND ORDER

1. The Government of Pakistan should undertake to use its best endeavours:

(a) To secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purposes of fighting and to prevent any intrusion into the State of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State.

(b) To make known to all concerned that the measures indicated in this and the following paragraphs provide full freedom to all subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste, or party, to express their views and to vote on the question of the accession of the State and that therefore they should co-operate in the maintenace of peace and order.

2. The Government of India should:

(a) When it is established to the satisfaction of the Commission set up in accordance with the Council's Resolution of 20th January that the tribesmen are withdrawing and that arrangements for the cessation of the fighting have become effective put into operation in consultation with the Commission a plan for withdrawing their own forces from Jammu and Kashmir and reducing them progressively to the minimum strength required for the support of the civil power in the maintenance of law and order:

(b) Make known that the withdrawal is taking place in stages and announce the completion of each stage:

(c) When the Indian forces shall have been reduced to the minimum strength mentioned in (a) above, arrange in consultation with the Commission for the stationing of the remaining forces to be carried out in accordance with the following principles:

  (i) That the presence of troops should not afford any intimation or appearance of intimidation to the inhabitants of the State.

  (ii) That as small a number as possible should be retrained in forward areas.

(iii)That any reserve of troops which may be included in the strength should be located within their present base area.

3. The Government of India should agree that until such time as the plebiscite adminstration referred to below finds it necessary to exercise the powers of direction and supervision over the State forces and policy provided for in paragraph 8 they will be held in areas to be agreed upon with the Plebiscite Administrator.

4. After the plan referred to in paragraph 2 (a) above has been put into operation, personnel recruited locally in each district should so far as possible be utilised for the re-establishment and maintenance of law and order with due regard to protection of minorities, subject to such additional requirements as may be specified by the Plebiscite Administration referred to in paragraph 7.

5. If these local forces should be found to be inadequate, the Commission subject to the agreement of both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, should arrange for use of such forces of either Dominion as it deems effective for the purpose of pacification.

B.—PLEBSICITE

6. The Government of India should undertake to ensure that the Government of the State invite the major political groups to designate responsible representatives to share equitably and fully in the conduct of the administration at the ministerial level, while the plebiscite is being prepared and carried out.

7. The Government of India should undertake that there will be established in Jammu and Kashmir a Plebiscite Administration to hold a Plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of the accession of the State to ndia or Pakistan.

8 The Government of India should undertake

that there will be delegated by the State of the Plebiscite Administration such powers as the latter considers necessary for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite including, for that purpose only, the direction and supervision of the State forces and police.

9. The Government of India should at the request of the Plebiscite Administration, make available from the Indian forces such assistance as the Plebiscite Administration may require for the performance of its functions.

10. (a) The Government of India should agree that a nominee of the Secretary-General of the United Nations will be appointed to be the Plebiscite Administrator.

(b) The Plebiscite Administrator, acting as an officer of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, should have authority to nominate his Assistants and other subordinates and to draft regulations governing the Plebiscite. Such nominees should be formally appointed and such draft regulations should be formally promulgated by the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(c) The Government of India should undertake that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will appoint fully qualified persons nominated by the Plebiscite Administrator to act as special magistrates. within the State judicial system to hear cases which in the opinion of the Plebiscite Administrator have a serious bearing on the preparation and the conduct of a free and impartial plebiscite.

(d) The terms of service of the Administrator should form the subject of a separate negotiation between the Secretary General of the United Nations and the Government of India. The Administrator should fix the terms of service for his assistants and subordinates.

(e) The Administrator should have the right to communicate direct with the Government of the State and with the Commission of the Security Council and through the Commission with the Security Council with the Governments of India and Pakistan and with their representatives with the Commission. It would be his duty to bring to the notice of any or all of the foregoing (as he in his discretion may decide) any circumstances arising which may tend, in his opinion, to interfere with the freedom of the Plebiscite.

11. The Government of India should undertake to prevent and to give full support to the Administrator and his staff in preventing any threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite, and the Government of India should publicly announce and should cause the Government of the State to announce this undertaking as an international obligation binding on all public authorities and officials in Jammu and Kashmir.

12. The Government of India should themselves and through the Government of the State declare and make known that all subjects of the State of Jammu and Kashmir regardless of creed, caste or party, will be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State and that there will freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit.

13. The Government of India should use and should ensure that the Government of the State also use their best endeavour to effect the withdrawal from the State of all Indian nationals other than those who are normally resident therein or who on or since 15th

August 1947 have entered it for a lawful purpose.

14. The Government of India should ensure that the Government of the State release all political prisoners and take all possible steps so that:

(a) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of disturbances are invited and are free, to return to their homes and to exercise their rights as such citizens;
(b) there is no victimization;
(c) minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection.

15. The Commission of the Security Council should at the end of the plebiscite certify to the Council whether the plebiscite has or has not been really free and impartial.

C.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

16. The Government of India and Pakistan should each be invited to nominate a Representative to be attached to the Commission for such assistance as it may require in the performance of its task.

17. The Commission should establish in Jammu and Kashmir such observers as it may require of any of the proceedings in pursuance of the measures indicated in the foregoing paragraphs.

18. The Security Council Commission should carry out the tasks assigned to them therein.

APPENDIX-II

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN ON 13TH AUGUST, 1948.

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Having given careful consideration to the points of view expressed by the Representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and

Being of the opinion that the prompt cessation of hostilities and the correction of conditions the coninuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security are essential to implementation of its endeavours to assist the Governments of India and Pakistan in effecting a final settlement of the situation,

Resolves to submit simultaneously to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following proposal:

PART - I

CEASE-FIRE ORDER

A. The Government of India and Pakistan agree that their respective High Commands will issue separately and simultaneously a cease-fire order to apply to all forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as of the earliest practicable date or dates to be mutually agreed upon within four days after these proposals have been accepted by both Governments.

B. The High Commands of Indian and Pakistan forces agree to refrain from taking any measures that might augment the military potential of the forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. (For the purpose of the proposals "forces under their control shall be considered to include all forces, organised, and unorganised, fighting or participating in hostilities on their respective sides).

C. The Commanders-in-Chief of the Forces of India and Pakistan shall promptly confer regarding any necessary local changes in present dispositions which may facilitate the cease-fire.

D. In its discretion and as the Commission may find practicable, the Commission will appoint military observes who under the authority of the Commission and with the co-operation of both Commands will supervise the observance of the cease-fire order.

E. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan agree to appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations.

PART - II

TRUCE AGREEMENT

Simultaneously with the acceptance of the proposal for the immediate cessation of hostilities as outlined in part I, both Governments accept the following principles as a basis for the formulation of a truce agreement, the details of which shall be worked out in discussion between their Representatives and the Commission.

A.

1. As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State.
2. The Government of Pakistan will use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting.
3. Pending a final solution, the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops will be administrated by the local authorities under the surveillance of the Commission.

B.

1. When the Commission shall have notified the Government of India that the tribesmen and Pakistan nationals referred to in Part II A 2 hereof have withdrawn, thereby terminating the situation which was represented by the Government of India to the Security Council as having occasioned the presence of Indian forces in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and further, that the Pakistan forces are being withdrawn from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India agrees to begin to withdraw the bulk of their forces from that State in stages to be agreed upon with the Commission.
2. Pending the acceptance of the conditions for a final settlement of the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian Government will maintain within the lines existing at the moment of cease-fire the minimum strength of

its forces which in agreement with the Commission are considered necessary to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order. The Commission will have observers stationed where it deems necessary.

3. The Government of India will undertake to ensure that the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will take all measures within their power to make it publicly known that peace. law and order will be safeguarded and that all human and political rights will be guaranteed.

C.

1. Upon signature, the full text of the Truce Agreement or a Communique containing the principles thereof as agreed upon between the two Governments and the Commission, will be made public.

PART-III

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the Truce Agreement both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitble conditions whereby such free expression will be assured.

APPENDIX-III

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN ON 5TH JANUARY 1949.

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

Having received from the Governments of India and Pakistan in Communications, dated December 23 and December 25, 1948, respectively, their acceptance of the following principles which are supplementary to the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948;

1. The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite.
2. A plebiscite will be held when it shall be found by the Commission that the cease-fire and truce arrangements set forth in Part I and II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August, 1948 have been carried out and arrangements for the plebiscite have been completed.
3. (a) The Secretary-General of the United Nations will, in agreement with the Commission nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who shall be a personality of high international standing and commanding general confidence. He will be formally appointed to office by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

   (b) The Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organizing and conducting the plebiscite and for ensuring the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite.

(c) The Plebiscite Administrator shall have authority to appoint such staff or assistants and observers as he may require.

4. (a) After implementation of Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948, and when the Commission is satisfied that peaceful conditions have been restored in the State, the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator will determine, in consultation with the Government of India, the final disposal of Indian and State armed forces, such disposal to be with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite.

(b) As regards the territory referred to in A 2 of Part II of the resolution of 13 August final disposal of the armed forces in that territory will be determined by the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator in consultation with the local authorities.

5. All civil and military authorities within the State and the principal political elements of the State will be required to co-operate with the Plebiscite Administrator in the pre-partation for and the holding of the plebiscite.

6. (a) All citizens of the state who have left it on account of the disturbances will be invited and be free to return and to exercise all their rights as such citizens. For the

purpose of facilitating repatriation there shall be appointed two Commissions, one composed of nominees of India and the other of nominees of Pakistan.

The Commission shall operate under the direction of the Plebiscite Administrator. The Governments of India and Pakistan and all authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will collaborate with the Plebiscite Administrator in putting this provision into effect.

(b) All persons other than citizens of the State who on or since 15 August 1947 have entered it for other than lawful purpose, shall be required to leave the State.

7 All authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will undertake to ensure, in collaboration with the Plebiscite Administrator, that:

(a) There is no threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite.

(b) No restrictions are placed on legitimate political activity throughout the state. All subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste or party, shall be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan. There shall be freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit.

(c) All political prisoners are released;

(d) Minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection; and

(e) There is no victimization.

8. The Plebiscite Administrator may refer to the

United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan problems on which he may require assistance, and the Commission may in its discretion call upon the Plebiscite Administrator to carry out on its behalf any of the responsibilities with which it has been entrusted.

9. At the conclusion of the plebiscite, the Plebiscite Administrator shall report the result thereof to the Commission and to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The Commission shall then certify to the Security Council whether the Plebiscite has or has not been free and impartial.
10. Upon the signature of the truce agreement the details of the foregoing proposals will be elaborated in the consultation envisaged in Part III of the Commission's resolution of 13 August, 1948. The Plebiscite Administrator will be fully associated in these consultations.

Commends the Governments of India and Pakistan for their prompt action in ordering a cease-fire to take effect from one minute before mid-night of first January 1949, pursuant to the agreement arrived at as provided for by the Commission's Resolution of 13 August 1948 and;

Resolves to return in the immediate future to the sub-continent to discharge the responsibilities imposed upon it by the resolution of 13 August 1948 and by the foregoing principles.

APPENDIX-IV

THE SIMLA AGREEMENT

"The Government of Pakistan and the Government of India are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the estabishment of durable peace in the subcontinent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples.

"In order to achieve this objective, the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India have agreed as follows:

(i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;

(ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;

(iii) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation. good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

(iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;

(v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;

(vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

"Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

"In order progressively to restore and normalise relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

(i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including overflights.

(ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilites for the nationals of the other country.

(iii) Trade and co-operation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

(iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

"In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time work out the necessary details.

"In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

(i) Pakistan and Indian forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.

(iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

"This Agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the Instruments of Ratification are exchanged.

"Both Governments agreed that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO	INDIRA GANDHI
President	*Prime Minister*
Islamic Republic of Pakistan	Republic of India

Simla, the 2nd July, 1972."

APPENDIX-V

AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNENT OF PAKISTAN AND THE AZAD KASHMIR GOVERNMENT WHICH BECAME THE BASIS OF ALL SUBSEQUENT CONSTITUTIONS OF AZAD KASHMIR, IT ALSO WAS THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF AZAD KASHMIR AND ITS RULES OF BUSINESS.

The Agreement was signed by M.A. Gurmani, Minister without Portfolio, on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, the then President of Azad Kashmir and by Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, the President of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in Karachi on 28th April, 1949, soon after the 800 miles long ceasefire Line was drawn by the UN military observers in the State.

Heads of Agreement between the Hon'ble Minister without Portfolio, The President of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and the President of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government:

1. Civil Administration of the Azad Kashmir Area:

(i) The Azad Kashmir Cabinet shall formulate policy and generally supervise administration in Azad Kashmir. Day to day administration shall, however, be entrusted to executive officers viz. the Heads of Departments who shall also be secretaries to the Government for their respective Departments.

(ii) Besides the Heads of Departments, the Azad Kashmir Government will have only the following secretaries:

1. The Secretary Finance Department and
2. The Cabinet Secretary.

The cabinet secretary besides maintaining the record of cabinet proceedings will be directly responsible to keep the cabinet well-posted with all matters connected with the Plebiscite Administrator.

(iii) The details of the set up will be as follows:

No.	Subject	Head of Deptt. cum Secretary	Minister Incharge
1.	Law & Order including Jails and Police	Commissioner -cum-Chief Secretary	Hon'ble President
2.	Food and Civil Supplies	Director of Food and Civil Supplies and Secretary to Government Civil Supplies Deptt.	Minister for Civil Supplies
3	Revenue (including Forests Customs and Public Works.	Commissioner -cum-Chief Secretary	Revenue and Finance Minister
4	Finance	Finance Secretary	Revenue and Finance Minister

5.	Rehabilitation	Director of Rehabilitation & Secy. Rehabilitation	Minister Rehabilitation
6.	Medical & Health Services	Director of Health	Minister of Health.
7.	Education	Director of Education.	Minister of Education.
8.	Cabinet & Plebiscite Works	Cabinet Secretary	Hon'ble President

(iv) No one below the rank of Head of Department/Secretary shall have access to the Ministers and orders to lower staff shall always be communicated through the Head of Department/Secretary.

(v) Heads of Departments/Secretaries shall submit all important cases to their ministers and shall generally keep them fully informed of developments in their respective departments.

(vi) Heads of Departments/Secretaries who are at present located outside Azad Kashmir may continue to be so located But they would meet their ministers once or twice a week and put up cases on which orders of ministers have to be obtained.

(vii) Whenever a Head of Department feels that an order passed by and Hon'ble Minister needs revision, he would bring the case to the notice of the Commissioner who in his capacity as Chief Secretary to the Azad Kashmir Government, will endeavour to have the matter satisfactorily settled. if necessary. in consultation with the Chief Plebiscite Advisor to the Pakistan Government. who will also be notified by the Azad Kashmir Government as their Chief Advisor.

(viii) Officers loaned to Azad Kashmir Government will be formally appointed as Officers on special duty with the Chief Plebiscite Advisor and their services will be informally placed at the disposal of the Azad Kashmir Government who would formally appoint them to office by notification of their own Gazette. All correspondence of the Azad Kashmir Government with the Secretariat of the Minister without Portfolio, Government of Pakistan, will be through the Chief Plebisicte Advisor.

(ix) Pending the appointment of a Public Service Commission, for Azad Kashmir, an Ad Hoc Committee consisting of the following may be appointed to recommend future recruitment and promotions in services in the Azad Kashmir Government:

1. Commissioner (Chairman)
2. Judge of Azad Kashmir High Court
3. The Head of the Department concerned.
4. Cabinet Secretary as member - Secretary

THE KARACHI AGREEMENT

(I) Financial Arrangements

(i) Monies advanced to the A.K. Government for specific purposes shall be spent for those purposes and no other. The Pakistan Government shall satisfy themselves that they have been properly spent.

(ii) Monies advanced to the Azad Kashmir Government as general grants-in-aid shall be given only after the A.K. Government has produed a budget statement for the Government as a whole. In the case of these funds, the Govt. of Pakistan shall satisfy that the A.K. Government spend according to the budget proposals. For this purpose, they may ask for periodical statement of account from that Government.

(iii) The Pakistan Government shall loan the services of an Accounts Officer for employment as Accountant General of the Azad Kashmir government.

DIVISIONS OF FUNCTIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN, THE AZAD KASHMIR GOVERNMENT AND THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE.

A. Matters within the Purview of Pakistan Government

(i) Defence (Complete Control over A.K. Force).

(ii) Negotiations with the UNCIP.

(iii) Foreign Policy of the Azad Kashmir Government.

(iv) Publicity in Pakistan and Foreign countries.

(v) Coordination of arrangement for relief and rehabilitation of refugees.

(vi) Coordination of publicity and all arrangements in connection with the Plebiscite.

(vii) All activities within Pakistan itself with regard to Kashmir such as procurement of food and civil supplies, transport, running of refugee camps, medical arrangements etc.

(viii) All affairs of Gilgit and Ladakh areas under the control of the political agent at Gilgit.

B Matters within the Purview of the A.K. Government.

(i) Policy with regard to administration in Azad Kashmir.

(ii) General supervision of administration in Azad Kashmir.

(iii) Publicity with regard to the activities of the Azad Kashmir Government and its administration.

(iv) Advice to H.M. Without Portfolio with regard to negotiations with the UNCIP.

(v) Development of Economic resources of Azad Kashmir area.

C. Matters within the Purview of the Muslim Conference

(i) Publicity with regard to the Plebiscite in A.K. area.

(ii) Field work and publicity in the Indian occupied area of the State.

(iii) Organisation of political activities in the AK area and Indian occupied areas of the State.

(iv) Preliminary arrangements in connection with the Plebiscite.

(v) Organisation for contesting the Plebiscite.

(vi) Political work and Publicity among Kashmir refugees in Pakistan.

(vii) General guidance of the Azad Kashmir Government.

(viii) Advise to H.M. without Portfolio with regard to negotiations with UNCIP.

Sd/-
(Muhammad Ibrahim)
President Azad Kashmir Government.

Sd/-
(Ghulam Abbas)
President All Jammu and Kashmir
Muslim Conference.

I agree to this so far as this concerns the sphere of activities of the Muslim Conference.

Sd/-
(M.A. Gurmani)
Minister without Portfolio
Government of Pakistan

Agreement arrived in Karachi between the Government of Pakistan, Azad Kashmir Government and the Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference on 28th April, 1949.

APPENDIX-VI & VII

QUAID-I-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH ON KASHMIR

"States can choose to be Independent". Option not limited to Hindustan or Pakistan. Paramountcy will terminate but cannot be transferred.

Jinnah clarifies Muslim League viewpoint. New Delhi June 17. With the termination of paramountcy, Indian states would be free either to join Hindustan Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or to remain independent, declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League in a statement today.

The Quaid-i-Azam further said: "There is a great deal of controversy going on with regard to the Indian states and I am, therefore, obliged to state the position of the All India Muslim League, so that there should be no misunderstanding as to what the Muslim League stands for and what our policy is with regard to the Indian states.

"Constitutionaly and legally, the Indian states will be independent sovereign states on the termination of paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like; it is open to them to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or decide to remain independent. In the last case, they enter into such arrangements or relationship with Hindustan or Pakistan as they may choose.

League Policy

The policy of the Muslim League has been clear from the very beginning. We do not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of any state, for that is a matter primarily to be resolved betwen the rulers and the people of the States. Such states as wish to enter the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of their free will and desire to discuss and negotiate with us, shall find us willing and ready to do so. If they wish to remain independent and wish to negotiate or adjust any political or any other relationship such as commercial or economic relations with Pakistan, we shall be glad to discuss with them and come to a settlement which will be in the interest of both.

I am clearly of the opinion that the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of May 12 defining the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the Indian states does not in any way limit them as is often wrongly repeated, that they have no opinion except to join one or the other Constituent Assembly. In my opinion they are free to remain independent if they so desire, neither the British Government nor the British Parliament compel them to do anything contrary to their free will and accord nor have they any power or sanction of any kind to do so.

"The British Government have made it clear that paramountcy will not be transferred to any Government or Governments or authority that may be set up in British India and that itself shows that the paramountcy cannot be transferred, but is going to terminate. On its termination, the full sovereign status of the Indian states emerges.

Pakistan Times, Lahore, June 18, 1947.

JINNAH DEMANDS RELEASE OF KASHMIR DETENUES — Muslim Conference leaders meet Quaid-i-Azam:

New Delhi July 11. "I see no justification of the continued detention of the Kashmir Muslim Conference leaders, who have been in jail now for the last nine months without trial" says Mr. M.A. Jinnah in a press statement, after an hour's interview with the Kashmir Muslim leaders here today. Mr. Jinnah expressed the hope that the Maharaja and the prime minister would realise the fast changing circumstances and said that wisdom demanded that the feelings and the sentiments of the Muslims who form 80% of the population should not be ignored much less hurt.

Chaudhry Hamidullah Khan, acting president of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and Mr. Ishaque Qureshi, a member of the Working Committee of the Conference, had an hour's interview with Mr. M. A. Jinnah this morning regarding the present political situation in Kashmir. Mr. Jinnah, in his statement said: "The Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference leaders, Chaudhry Hamidullah Khan and Mr. Ishaque Qureshi had an interview with me today and they informed me of the situation there which is making the people restive. They placed before me the situation of the detention of the Muslim Conference leaders who have been in jail now for nine months without trial. Their only offence was that they held the Muslim Conference session inspite of prohibitory orders of the Government. But they soon dispersed but did not proceed with their business. Only six leaders were arrested to which no resistance was offered and everything went on peacefully. For such a technical offence they have suffered already nine months and I see no justification for their continued detention.

The second question that is engaging the attention of the Muslims of Kashmir is whether Kashmir is going to join the Constituent Assembly of Hindustan or the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. I have already made it clear more than once that Indian states are free to join either the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or remain independent. I have no doubt that the Maharaja and the Kashmir Government will give their closest attention.

Pakistan Times, Lahore, 12th July, 1947.

APPENDIX-VIII

قراردادِ الحاق

(ا) آل جموں و کشمیر کانفرنس کی یہ کنونشن اس قرارداد کے ذریعے قیام پاکستان پر اپنے اطمینان قلبی اور مسرت کا اظہار کرتے ہوئے قائداعظم کو اپنی مبارک باد پیش کرتی ہے۔

(ب) برصغیر کی ریاستوں کے عوام کو امید تھی کہ وہ برطانوی ہندوستان کے دوسرے باشندوں کے دوش بدوش قومی آزادی کے مقاصد کو حاصل کریں گے اور تقسیم ہندوستان کے ساتھ جہاں برطانوی ہندوستان کے تمام باشندے آزادی سے ہمکنار ہوئے وہاں 3 جون 1947 کے اس اعلان نے برصغیر کی نیم مختار ریاستوں کے حکمرانوں کے ہاتھ مضبوط کئے ہیں اور جب تک یہ مطلق العنان حکمران وقت کے جدید تقاضوں کے سامنے سر تسلیم خم نہ کریں گے ہندوستانی ریاستوں کے عوام کا مستقبل بھی بالکل تاریک رہے گا۔ ان حالات میں ریاست جموں و کشمیر کے عوام کے سامنے صرف تین راستے ہیں (i) ریاست کا بھارت سے الحاق (ii) ریاست کا پاکستان سے الحاق (iii) کشمیر میں ایک آزاد و خود مختار ریاست کا قیام۔

مسلم کانفرنس کی یہ کنونشن بڑے غور و خوض کے بعد اس نتیجے پر پہنچی ہے کہ جغرافیائی، اقتصادی، لسانی و ثقافتی اور مذہبی اعتبار سے ریاست کا پاکستان کے ساتھ الحاق نہایت ضروری ہے کیونکہ ریاست کی آبادی کا ۸۰ فیصد حصہ مسلمانوں پر مشتمل ہے اور پاکستان کے تمام بڑے دریا جن کی گذرگاہ پنجاب ہے کہ منبع وادی کشمیر میں ہیں اور ریاست کے عوام بھی پاکستان کے عوام کے ساتھ مذہبی، ثقافتی اور اقتصادی رشتوں میں مضبوطی سے بندھے ہوئے ہیں اس لئے ضروری ہے کہ ریاست کا الحاق پاکستان سے کیا جائے۔ یہ کنونشن مہاراجہ کشمیر سے پرزور مطالبہ کرتا ہے کہ کشمیر کی

عوام کو داخلی طور پر مکمل خود مختاری دی جائے اور مہاراجہ ریاست کا آئینی سربراہ کی حیثیت اختیار کرتے ہوئے ریاست میں ایک نمائندہ قانون ساز اسمبلی کی تشکیل کریں اور دفاع، مواصلات اور امور خارجہ کے محکمے پاکستان دستور ساز اسمبلی کے سپرد کیے جائیں۔ کنونشن یہ قرار دیتی ہے کہ اگر حکومت کشمیر نے ہمارے یہ مطالبات تسلیم نہ کیے اور مسلم کانفرنس کے اس مشورے پر کسی داخلی یا خارجی دباؤ کے تحت عمل نہ کیا گیا اور ریاست کا الحاق ہندوستان کی دستور ساز اسمبلی کے ساتھ کر دیا گیا۔ کشمیری عوام اس فیصلے کی مخالفت میں اٹھ کھڑے ہوں گے اور اپنی تحریک آزادی پورے جوش و خروش سے جاری رکھیں گے۔

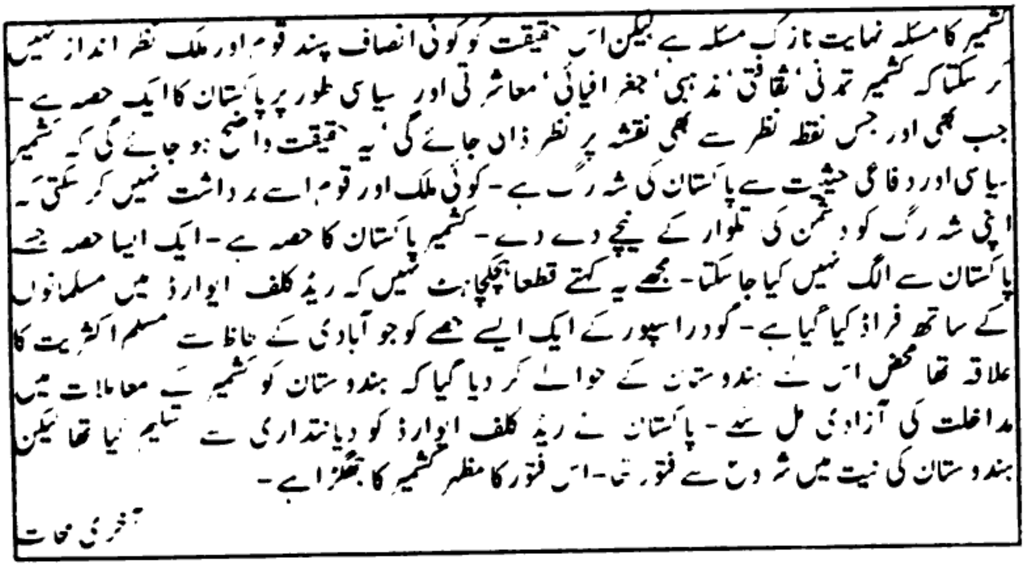
(یہ تاریخی قرارداد آل جموں و کشمیر مسلم کانفرنس کے اجلاس خاص
(کنونشن) نے ۱۹ جولائی ۱۹۴۷ء کو سری نگر میں پاس کی تھی۔)

APPENDIX-IX

TRANSLATION OF THE URDU VERSION OF QUAID'S WORDING FROM THE BOOK *AAKHRI LAMHAT* INTO ENGLISH

The issue of Kashmir is a very delicate one. But no justice loving nation or country can ignore the fact that Kashmir is by way of civilisation, culture, religion geographically and socially a part of Pakistan. Whenever and from whichever point of view you have a look on the map, the truth will be obvious that Kashmir is politically and from the point of view of defence the jugular vein of Pakistan. No country or nation can afford to place its jugular vein under the sword of the enemy. Kashmir is a part of Pakistan. a part which cannot be separated from Pakistan.

I do not hesitate to point out that a fraud was played with the Muslims in the Radcliff Award. A part of the Gurdaspur district, which was Muslim majority area, was handed over to India to enable India to interfere in the affairs of Kashmir. Pakistan had accepted Radcliff Award with honesty, but India had bad intentions from the very beginning and the result of those bad intentions is the dispute over Kashmir.



کشمیر کا مسئلہ نہایت نازک مسئلہ ہے لیکن اس حقیقت کو کوئی انصاف پسند قوم اور ملک نظر انداز نہیں
کر سکتا کہ کشمیر تمدنی، ثقافتی، مذہبی، جغرافیائی، معاشرتی اور سیاسی طور پر پاکستان کا ایک حصہ ہے۔
جب بھی اور جس نقطہ نظر سے بھی نقشہ پر نظر ڈالی جائے گی، یہ حقیقت واضح ہو جائے گی کہ کشمیر
سیاسی اور دفاعی حیثیت سے پاکستان کی شہ رگ ہے۔ کوئی ملک اور قوم اسے برداشت نہیں کر سکتی کہ
اپنی شہ رگ کو دشمن کی تلوار کے نیچے دے دے۔ کشمیر پاکستان کا حصہ ہے۔ ایک ایسا حصہ جسے
پاکستان سے الگ نہیں کیا جا سکتا۔ مجھے یہ کہتے قطعاً ہچکچاہٹ نہیں کہ ریڈ کلف ایوارڈ میں مسلمانوں
کے ساتھ فراڈ کیا گیا ہے۔ گورداسپور کے ایک ایسے حصے کو جو آبادی کے لحاظ سے مسلم اکثریت کا
علاقہ تھا محض اس لئے ہندوستان کے حوالے کر دیا گیا کہ ہندوستان کو کشمیر کے معاملات میں
مداخلت کی آزادی مل سکے۔ پاکستان نے ریڈ کلف ایوارڈ کو دیانتداری سے تسلیم کیا تھا لیکن
ہندوستان کی نیت میں شروع سے فتور تھا۔ اس فتور کا مظہر کشمیر کا جھگڑا ہے۔

آخری لمحات

APPENDIX-X

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF APHC OF OCCUPIED KASHMIR

Chapter-I Name and Composition of All Parties Hurriet Conference

1. Name and composition of the conference:-
   - i) The All Parties Hurriet Conference shall be a union of Political, Social and Religious Organisations of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with a Head Office at Srinagar.
   - ii) The conference shall comprise:-
     - (a) The organisations as specified in the schedule; and
     - (b) Such other organisations as may be admitted into the conference hereafter.

Chapter-II Objectives of All Parties Hurriet Conference

2. Objectives of the conference: The objectives for which the All Parties Hurriet Conference has been formed shall be as follows:-

   - i) To secure for the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir the exercise of the right of self-determination in accordance with the U.N. Charter and the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council, however the exercise of the right of self-determination shall also include the right to independence.
   - ii) To make endeavours of an alternative negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute amongst all the three parties of the dispute viz (a) INDIA, (b) PAKISTAN, (c) PEOPLE

OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR, under the auspices of U.N. or any other friendly countries. Provided that such settlement reflects the will and aspirations of the people of the state.

iii) To project ongoing struggle, in the State before the Nations and Governments of the world in its proper perspective as being a struggle directed against the forceable and fraudulent occupation of the state by India and for the achievement of the right of self-determination of its people.

APPENDIX-XI

ARTICLE 370 OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION

(1)370. *Temporary provisions with respect to the State of Jammu & Kashmir.*— (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution.—

(a) the provisions of articles 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

(b) the power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to—

(i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List which, in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and

(ii) such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

(2)EXPLANATION:— For the purposes of this article, the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated the fifth day of March, 1948;

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(1) See the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1954, published with the Ministry of Law Notification No. C.O.48, dated the 14th May, 1954, Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, Section 3, p. 821, as amended from time to time.

(2) In exercise of the powers conferred by this article the President, on the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, declared that, as from the 17th day of November, 1952, the said art. 370 shall be operative with the modification that for the Explanation in col. (1) thereof, the following Explanation is substituted, namely:—

(c) the provisions of article (1) and of this article shall apply in relation to that State;

(d) such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify:

Provided that no such order which relates to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of sub-clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Government of the State:

Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

(2) If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decisions as it may take thereon.

"*Explanation.*— For the purposes of this art., the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President on the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly of the State as the *Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir, acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers of the State for the time being in office."

(Ministry of Law Order No. C.O. 44, dated the 15th November 1952).

*Now 'Governor'.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may, by public notification, declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may specify:

Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification.

APPENDIX-XII

ACTION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY CANNOT DECIDE FUTURE OF KASHMIR, SAYS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

Proceedings of the Security Council, January-February 1957.

"On February 21 (1957). the Security Council requested its President (Gunner Jarring of Sweden) to examine with the two Governments any proposal likely to promote settlement of the Kashmir issue having regard to the earlier resolutions of the Council and the UNCIP (United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan). By an earlier resolution of January 24, 1957, the Council had affirmed its old stand to determine Kashmir's future by plebiscite and declared that the action by the Kashmir assembly and its support by the parties would not constitute disposition of the State in keeping with that principle."

Resolution Adopted by the Security Council on January 24, 1957.

"Having heard statements from the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan, concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

"Remaining the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in its Resolutions of 21 April, 1948, 3 June 1948, 14 March 1950, and 30 March 1950, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan Resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations;

"Reaffirms the affirmation in its Resolution of March 30, 1951, and declares that the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the "All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" and any action that the Assembly may have taken or might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof, or action by the parties concerned in support of any such action by the Assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle;

"Decides to continue its consideration of the dispute."

APPENDIX-XIII

قراردادِ آزاد کشمیر

ہر گاہ کہ ہندوستان کے لئے نئے آئین کا ڈھانچہ مرتب کرنے کا ڈول ڈالا جا رہا ہے اور برطانوی ہند کے صوبہ جات اور ہندوستانی ریاستوں کو ایک محدود اختیار والی یونین میں منسلک کرنے کے لئے جس آئین ساز اسمبلی کو تشکیل دیا جا رہا ہے۔ اس میں دس کروڑ ریاستی باشندوں کی نمائندگی کے متعلق وزارتی سفارشات بالکل مبہم ہیں اور ریاستی عوام کو شبہ ہے کہ انہیں مطلق العنان شہزادگان کے رحم و کرم پر چھوڑا گیا ہے۔

مجلس عاملہ کی رائے میں آئین ساز اسمبلی میں ریاستی عوام کو بھی اسی طرح اپنے نمائندے خود منتخب کرنے کا حق دیا جائے۔ جیسا کہ برطانوی ہند کے عوام کو حاصل ہے۔ بالخصوص جہاں تک ریاست جموں و کشمیر کا تعلق ہے۔ مسلم کانفرنس مطالبہ کرتی ہے کہ ہندوستان کی آئین ساز اسمبلی میں ریاست کشمیر کی طرف سے جو نمائندے بھیجے جائیں۔ لازمی طور پر کشمیر اسمبلی میں کشمیر اسمبلی کے منتخب ممبروں کی طرف سے انتخاب کردہ ہونے چاہئیں اور ان کا تناسب و طریق انتخاب اسی طرح ہونا چاہئے جیسا کہ برطانوی ہند کے لئے لازمی قرار دیا گیا ہے۔

مجلس عاملہ یہ بھی مطالبہ کرتی ہے کہ مستقبل قریب میں جب ریاستوں کا ہندوستانی گروپوں میں شامل ہونا مقصود ہو تو کسی گروپ میں شمولیت کا حق صرف ریاستی عوام کو ہونا چاہئے۔

نیز ہر گاہ کہ آمریت اور جمہوریت کا دوش بدوش چل سکنا ممکن نہیں اور مجوزہ آئین ساز اسمبلی جو ہندوستان کے مختلف اجزاء کے لئے آئین مرتب کرے گی۔ اس کا انحصار آزاد اور جمہوری اصولوں پر ہوگا۔ اس لئے ضروری ہے کہ ریاست جموں

وکشمیر جو آبادی اور وسعت کے لحاظ سے صوبہ سرحد سے بہت بڑی اور سندھ کے برابر ہے کا آئین بھی ان ہی اصولوں پر مرتب ہونا چاہیے۔ بنابریں ضروری ہے کہ ریاست جموں وکشمیر کے مطلق العنان اور غیر ذمہ دارانہ نظام حکومت کو فی الفور ختم کر دیا جائے اور عوام کو اپنی پسند کا آئین حکومت بنانے کا پورا پورا اختیار دیا جائے جو اپنے مخصوص حالات کے مطابق آزاد کشمیر کے لئے جس طرز کا آئین چاہیں مرتب کریں۔ اس کام کو سرانجام دینے کی خاطر جموں وکشمیر کے لئے ایک آئین ساز اسمبلی کا قیام ازبس ضروری ہے۔ مجلس عاملہ مہاراجہ کشمیر سے مطالبہ کرتی ہے کہ اس مقصد کے حصول کے لئے موجودہ الوقت فرسودہ اسمبلی کو توڑ کر اس کی جگہ فی الفور مطلوبہ اسمبلی کا قیام عمل میں لایا جائے جو وسیع حق رائے دہندگی کے ساتھ تمام تر منتخب ممبران پر مشتمل ہو اور جس میں ہر قوم اور فرقہ کی تناسب آبادی کے لحاظ سے جداگانہ حق نیابت کے ذریعے حق نمائندگی حاصل ہو اور اسی اسمبلی کو ریاست جموں وکشمیر کے لئے اپنی مرضی کا آئین حکومت بنانے کا اختیار سونپا جائے۔ مجلس عاملہ کو توقع ہے کہ مہاراجہ کشمیر بدلے ہوئے حالات، سارے ہندوستان کے مفاد اور اہل ریاست کی بہتری کے پیش نظر عوام کا اپنی تقدیر کا خود فیصلہ کرنے کے جائز حق کو تسلیم کر لیں گے۔

مجلس عاملہ واضح طور پر اعلان کرتی ہے کہ اگر مندرجہ بالا مطالبات کے برعکس حکومت کشمیر نے کوئی اور راہ اختیار کی تو مسلم کانفرنس اس کو قبول نہیں کرے گی۔ اور مسلم عوام مسلم کانفرنس کی قیادت میں پوری طاقت کے ساتھ آزاد کشمیر کے لئے جدوجہد کریں گے۔

یہ تاریخ ساز اور انقلابی قرارداد جموں وکشمیر مسلم کانفرنس کے خصوصی کنونشن سری نگر نے ۲۷ جولائی ۱۹۴۶ء کو قائد کشمیر چوہدری غلام عباس کی صدارت میں منظور کی تھی۔

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